

THE INVISIBLE INDIANS: A HISTORY AND ANALYSIS  
OF THE RELATIONS OF THE COCAMILLA INDIANS  
OF LORETO, PERU, TO THE STATE

By

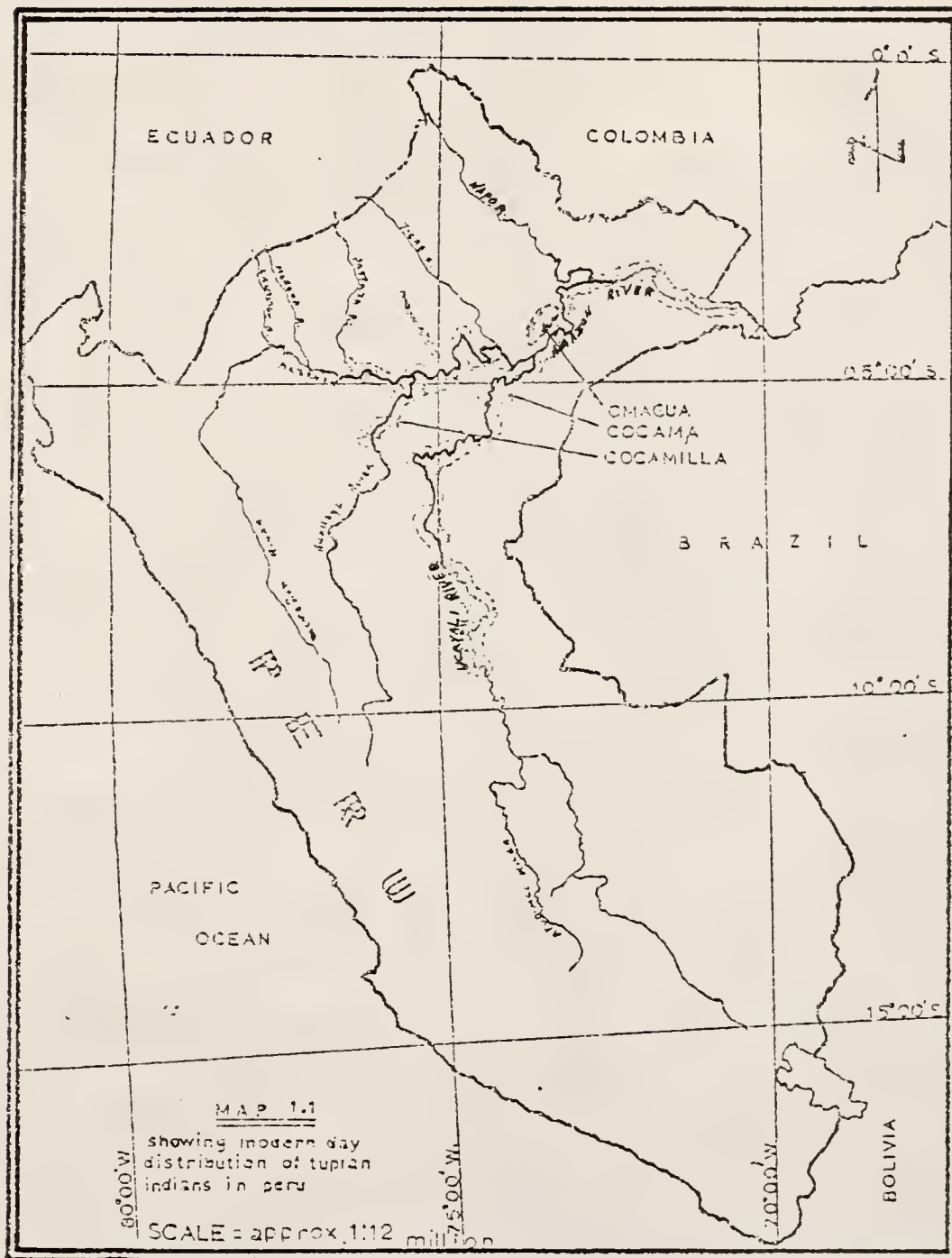
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This work is dedicated to the people of  
Achual Tipishca who give so freely and  
who have received so little.



## PREFACE

The title of this work was chosen in order to dramatize the rather unique position of large numbers of native American Indians in eastern Peru. While a considerable amount of attention has been given to the problems of "tribal" Indians, there exists a large class of "detribalized" Indians who are generally ignored. It is usually thought in Peru that such Indians have integrated into the white-mestizo culture and that they have disappeared biologically and as ethnic groups. Were this so, we would be presented with a selvatic society in which most rural members would be equivalent to the Brazilian caboclo. In fact, the term ribereño is generally used in Peru in exactly the same sense that caboclo is used in Brazil, to describe the rural frontiersmen of the tropical forest region who bear a culture which is much closer to European patterns than to autochthonous native patterns. Furthermore, the use of the term ribereño in Peru implies that most rural populations which are not tribal Indians do in fact fit into this category and that they form a homogeneous group culturally and socially.



Unfortunately for this view, social reality in eastern Peru does not match the Brazilian model. While there is certainly a ribereno stratum which is equivalent to the Brazilian caboclo (I would call them white-mestizo rural frontiersmen), there is also a stratum called the cholada which does not, from all accounts, exist in Brazil. The cholada is composed of the detribalized, acculturated, but unassimilated Indians who have made a wide range of adjustments to Peruvian society.

The Cocamilla are members of the cholada. They live in communities which might be described as native enclaves in the midst of a world dominated by white-mestizo culture. They are acculturated to many of the superficial aspects of white-mestizo existence, appearances which are deceptive. They retain many of the social forms and practices of their historical past. They retain them not through some vague sense of tradition but because they find them useful. They have special needs and problems which derive from their position at the bottom of the Peruvian social system as it is encountered in the tropical forest regions. The only social status lower than the cholo in eastern Peru is that of the tribal Indian, and it cannot truly be said that the tribal Indian is a member of Peruvian society.

The needs of the Cocamilla and the rest of the cholada are not recognized. It is much more convenient to pretend that they have disappeared, integrated, assimilated, "mestizoized." This pretense is facilitated by the degree of acculturation of the cholada to white-mestizo patterns which renders them so similar in outward appearance to the white-mestizo ribereños that they are effectively "invisible." Hence, the title of the present work. By examining the history and relations with the state society of what is now Peru of one representative group of the selvatic cholada, it is hoped that sensitivity toward the plight of other members of this social class will be heightened. It is not a small class in numbers. The Cocamilla and their closely related cousins, the Cocama, have a population which approaches 25,000 (Stocks, 1977). If all of the cholada were counted their population would easily reach 100,000, a significant percentage (7%) of Loreto's population of close to one and a half million persons.

Since the subject will not arise again until the last chapter of this dissertation, I would like to say something about the theoretical orientation which is implicit in much of the organization and understanding of the material contained in this work. I have been for some time and

continue to be influenced by the perspective in American anthropology called "cultural materialism" by some (cf. Harris, 1968, for a thorough treatment of this strategy for organizing our thoughts about cultural matters). The debt of cultural materialism to the "dialectical materialism" of Marx has been generally recognized. I consider myself to be an economic and ecological anthropologist. To me, the subjects are entwined to a degree which makes their separation, even for heuristic purposes, impractical. Cultural materialism as a research strategy suggests, among other things, that the determinants of cultural patterns are to be found in the objective relations which a given society or culture has with its environment, both physical and socio-political. Thus, in this work I have consistently searched out the meaning and the implications of the relations between the Cocamilla and the state in the economic relations between them. It is my belief that these relations are the major determinants for relations in the socio-political sphere and in the kinds of ideas and opinions expressed by the Cocamilla and the members of the Peruvian society with whom they have related in the past and continue to be related. When the Cocamilla are considered alone, it is their productive system which receives major emphasis in this work.

I am not unmindful of the debt which cultural materialism owes to earlier thinkers in the social and natural sciences. Darwinian evolutionary theory is basic. The work of Leslie White, especially in The Science of Culture (1949), in stating the basic framework of the study of culture has influenced me greatly. His "layercake" model of society devised from earlier materialists including Marx, in which the technological and economic base supports "layers" of social organization and ideology is useful and is implicit in this work. The work of Robert Murphy in The Dialectics of Social Life (1971) has greatly clarified for me the relations between the ideological "layer" and the "layer" of social interaction. My use of the term "praxis" in the sense of the social and economic interactions of humans prior to their conceptions of those interactions follows Murphy. Marshall Sahlins' work, Stone Age Economics (1972) has helped me greatly in organizing my thoughts about the domestic mode of production, an economic organization which is fundamental to many groups of South American tropical forest Indians, the Cocamilla among them. Since I use the terms "mode of production" and "relations of production" in this work several times, it is just that the debt to Marxian social

science be made more explicit in this sense. Marx's conception of mode of production includes the fundamental relations between people engendered by a determined way of producing the necessities of life, and considers the whole implied by the complex of the productive system and the relations and cultural patterns necessary to carrying it on. The mode of production, in short, is a socio-cultural and economic system and interacts with other systems of the same conceptual order (cf. Godelier, 1977: 15-69). Thus, one may speak of the conflicts between the Cocamilla mode of production and a capitalist mode of production and be understood to mean that the conflicts are on several levels, economic, social, and cultural or ideological. Marx's work Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations (1975) has been influential in making me think about such matters with regard to native Indian societies.

I would like to thank Dr. Charles Wagley for the material aid, intellectual guidance, and moral encouragement which made it possible to complete this work. It is difficult to imagine having completed it without him. The warm support he provides for his students is appreciated more than he knows. Special thanks also go to the members of my academic committee, Drs. Paul Doughty,



Maxine Margolis, Anthony Oliver-Smith, and Glaucio Soares who read and criticized earlier versions of the dissertation. Needless to say, final responsibility for content and interpretation lies with me. Among my Peruvian friends I would like to thank Alejandro Camino for his great aid in securing institutional affiliation in Peru and all of the staff of the Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica (CAAAP) in Lima and Iquitos. Alberto Chirif of SINAMOS first guided me toward the Cocama and Cocamilla. Norma Faust of the Summer Institute of Linguistics deserves special thanks for her great help in making possible my first orientation among the Cocama of the Ucayali River. My friends in Lagunas know who they are and they also know that I value their help and their friendship. P. Fr. Julian Héras O.F.M. was of great help in guiding my reading in the library at Santa Rosa de Ocopa. A special debt is owed to Juan de la Cruz Murayari who shared his knowledge of Cocamilla history unselfishly. My wife, Kathleen Butkus Stocks, worked as hard during the field portion of the study as I did. Her contribution is beyond calculation. Finally, although they never quite understood precisely why "Don Antonio" was among them, the people of Achual Tipishca accepted me and my family,

supported us, fed us, entertained us, socialized my infant daughter Gabriela, and made us one of them in a way which is slightly incredible to me yet. To them I owe the most, and it is to them that this work is dedicated.

Research for the dissertation was carried out through financial help from several sources. The Tropical South American Research Program under Dr. Charles Wagley at the University of Florida paid for a field trip of four months in 1975 during which time I selected a community and began to learn to deal with the tropical forest environment. The major portion of the field work, a stay of 19 months in 1976-1977, was supported by the Social Science Research Council in the form of a grant for doctoral dissertation research, by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in the form of a Fulbright-Hayes grant for doctoral dissertation research #13.441AH60020, and by the National Science Foundation in the form of a grant for improvement of doctoral dissertation research #BNS76-09554. The Social Science Research Council also provided funds for a six month extension of fieldwork and a six month write-up period after the field work had ended, a grant which has saved me much worry and fatigue. My thanks to all of these institutions and their dedicated staffs.

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THE INVISIBLE INDIANS: A HISTORY AND ANALYSIS  
OF THE RELATIONS OF THE COCAMILLA INDIANS  
OF LRETO, PERU, TO THE STATE

By

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Major Department: Anthropology

This dissertation addresses itself to the problems of the Cocamilla Indians of Loreto, Peru, and other similar groups of tropical forest Indians of Peru who are acculturated to white-mestizo patterns, but who are not assimilated or well-integrated into Peruvian society. The Cocamilla form, in effect, is a native "enclave" which is part of the rural class structure of eastern Peru. Cocamilla ethnohistory provides the background for understanding how this situation came about as a result of historical processes. It is asserted with supporting evidence that the Cocamilla and other Peruvian native Indians in similar structural positions actually form a "native" social class which is distinguishable both from the less-acculturated tribal Indians and from the poor rural white-mestizos who form the other component of Loreto rural society. This social class has



special problems because of the discordance produced by the thorough insertion of native ethnic groups such as the Cocamilla into the regional variants of Peruvian national class structure, an insertion which demands of them patterns of behavior which are alien to them. The Cocamilla, a group of about 5,000 - 7,000 people, have survived nearly 340 years of contact with western society by working out an arrangement whereby they supplied the developing Peruvian society with labor as canoemen and the products of the lakes and rivers of the Peruvian varzea, using techniques which have only recently been modified. Since their own lands, until the late 19th century, were essentially valueless to the Peruvian society in terms of agriculture and lumber, they were allowed to fill this economic niche without being forced to make drastic modifications in the life-style generated by their domestic subsistence-oriented mode of production. This situation has changed in the 20th century and Cocamilla institutions are undergoing rapid and radical changes today.

Based on an analysis of the conflicts between the Cocamilla native communities (defined by the qualities of being egalitarian, non-intrusive, and essentially kinship-based communities) and the bureaucratic, hierarchical, and

highly formal institutions of the state with which they are in constant contact, recommendations are made for recognizing the Cocamilla's right under Peruvian law as native Indians. These rights must include rights to both land and water resources in order to permit them to adjust to the developing Loreto society on terms which include the possibility of cultural and economic survival as an ethnic group.

## CHAPTER I

### FIELDWORK AMONG THE COCAMILLA

The Cocamilla are a group of about 5,000 native American Indians living in three major and a dozen minor communities who speak a language called Cocama, a member of the Tupi linguistic family. They are generally considered to be a sub-group of the Cocama. The Cocama number about 20,000 people and inhabit the lower Ucayali River floodplain in eastern Peru from about latitude 6°10' South to the river's mouth. The Cocamilla inhabit the lower Huallaga floodplain from about latitude 5°28' South to the mouth. These were the historical limits of their territory, but both groups have expanded considerably in recent times. Tupian Indians may now be found along parts of the floodplain of the Marañon, Upper Amazon, Nanay, Pastaza, and lower Napo rivers, to name but a few. Neither group has a long history in Peru. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Peruvian Tupians, including the Cocamilla and Cocama, probably arrived as part of a historical migration of Tupian Indians not more than two

or three hundred years before the conquest. They were part of an expanding population and were reported to have been extremely bellicose in many of the early historical sources.

I first became interested in the Cocamilla Indians as I become interested in most things, through slight experience with them. In 1973 I was traveling down the Ucayali River in eastern Peru on a decrepit wooden passenger boat. I had been studying in the Andes and wanted to see more of the country. Part of my plan was to see some of the eastern lowlands.

My first view of the eastern flanks of the Andes where the tropical forest begins as a cloud forest above Tingo Maria was breathtaking, even at 4:00 A.M. in the rain from a crowded bus. The dry Andean air was suddenly charged with heat and showerbath humidity. The moon lit up the thick vegetation on the right of the bus and the impossibly sheer and deep canyon on the left. We soon became stuck in the mud while waiting for a landslide to be cleared.

At Pucallpa a couple of days later, my wife and I found a boat traveling to Iquitos, 1200 kilometers downstream. The trip was revealing in terms of the river life and commerce. I was confused at the terms used by the Cantonese owner and his river pilot to refer to the

occasional Indians (mostly Shipibo, Conibo, and, farther down, Cocama) we saw living along the shores and paddling canoes. They were all called chamas or cholos<sup>1</sup> by the boatmen without distinction as to their ethnic group. Since I had been interested in the so-called cholos in southern Peru, and since the people called cholos on the river hardly seemed to be in the same positions as their highlands counterpart, I became interested in them.

In 1975 I returned to Peru with my wife, having by then determined to work in the tropical lowlands as my professional area specialty in anthropology. In the course of making contacts in the capital, Lima, we visited the offices of SINAMOS (National Social Mobilization Support System), the political-organizational arm of the 1968 military junta. There we talked to Alberto Chirif, the head of the support office for native communities. His office was in charge of organizing Amazon native Indians into political and juridical entities called "native"<sup>2</sup> communities" so that they might receive land titles, learn to deal with bank loans, receive identity papers, and in general defend themselves against white-mestizo traders and patrons. All of this was being done,

at least on paper, under law #20653, which, since 1973, has defined the rights of Amazon ethnic minorities, and has regulated the use of lands in eastern Peru under the 700 meter contour, which was the lower limit of the Agrarian Reform.

Mr. Chirif indicated an interest in the Cocama Indians. He pointed out to me that on his maps of the locations of 240 native villages of tropical forest Indians there was not a single Cocama or Cocamilla village shown. He said they had been able to organize no Cocama native communities, and in fact his office did not know which villages along the Ucayali, Amazon, Marañon, and Huallaga rivers might be Cocama or Cocamilla. This was true despite the fact that the Cocama/Cocamilla ethnic groups, with approximately 20,000 population comprise one of the largest native Indian groups in eastern Peru, and lie along the flood-plains of the most traveled rivers in the country.

The puzzle, of course, had a simple solution. The Cocama and Cocamilla were believed to have lost their "tribal" identity and to have largely merged with and integrated into that large sector of riverbank frontiersmen frequently called ribereños in Peru and caboclos in Brazil. Although no one I talked to in Lima during the



month I stayed there actually said it, there seemed to be an unstated assumption that if lowland tropical forest Indians were no longer "tribal," then they were no longer Indians at all.

This unvoiced assumption actually became voiced later in the summer in the heart of historic Cocama country, Requena, where the local head of SINAMOS, the man who, along with his other duties, was in charge of organizing the native communities, told me that they had not organized any Cocama under law #20653 because he did not consider them to be natives. "They are now mostly crossed with the mestizos," he said. He saw his job with regard to "real" natives as helping them to "revalidate their cultural patterns." This was taken to mean getting them to "preserve their dances and folklore." The Cocama and Cocamilla had no colorful dances and no one had asked them about their folklore since 1935. Their villages looked like the frontiersmen's villages, so much so that the Requena office was not sure where they could find a Cocama village. The Cocama, they said, "were too mixed with the rural agriculturalists and urban slum people to identify."

The only reason I failed to become persuaded that the Cocama and Cocamilla had disappeared as ethnic groups was

that I was traveling in a small boat with a Cocama family and they unhesitatingly identified certain communities as places where old people spoke the language, the dialecto. Furthermore, the white-mestizos on the Ucayali, the upper Amazon, lower Marañon, and lower Huallaga rivers, also knew where idiomeros were to be found and were quite willing to point out their communities.

On the advice of Norma Faust of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Cocama language specialist, I journeyed to Lagunas on the lower Huallaga River to see the Cocamilla. They were supposed to be more conservative of language and custom than the Cocama. It seemed to be true. Three large and several small communities of Cocamilla were identified. Most of the children understood the language, even if they did not speak it.

I saw no reason why the communities of Cocamilla on the Huallaga River should not have titles for their land and protection under the law as native Indians. They were stable communities in a geographic sense. They expressed an interest in securing titles to communal land. The only drawback was that they had never been visited by a government organizer, and they had no idea of the law or of their rights. I decided to study the question



of what sort of lands might be desirable for them to secure title to, a study which implied a study of their subsistence patterns and needs.

I returned to Peru in July of 1976 for the field portion of the study. By then I was familiar enough with the Cocamilla so that I naively assumed that they were not socially "invisible" to the authorities, even if the more dispersed Cocama seemed to be. I spent the next nineteen months disabusing myself of that idea as I tried to convince the officials in the closest SINAMOS office in Yurimaguas to come and at least talk to the Cocamilla about their rights as native Indians. The office responded that the Cocamilla were "campesinos" (peasants), and thus could only be organized on an equal basis with the white-mestizo rural agriculturalists. SINAMOS promoters in Yurimaguas were busy organizing Chayahuita Indians, among other groups, into native communities. The Chayahuita at least looked like the popular conception of Indians, the men with pudding-bowl haircuts, and the women in crude black homespun skirts and short blouses with bracelets and beads. The last Cocamilla who wore such clothes had died two years before. Yet in phenotypical appearance the Cocamilla were as Indian as the Chayahuita.

As I began to understand something about Cocamilla social and economic life from living in one of their villages, I began to see that they were discriminated against by most, if not all, of their white-mestizo neighbors. Their history as mission Indians, and later as peons, had ill-fitted them to be thrust into the capitalist-extractive or capitalist-agricultural economy of Loreto as individuals or as communities without some sort of "head-start." Their historical heritage as Christian Indians seemed to be strong enough to keep them distinct as an ethnic group, at least up until the present, but they lacked the access to political and economic power which the ribereno white-mestizo frontiersmen had.

As I lived among the Cocamilla I began to see that they still formed a distinct society in which up to 90% of them found marriage partners with other Cocamilla. I watched their customs deprecated by the white-mestizo teachers, their lakes violated by commercial fishermen, and their daughters go away to near bondage as servants in urban centers. In such circumstances others have spoken of "ethnocide." I wish it were that simple. But at times there almost seemed to be an element of malevolent

conspiracy in the way the entire Peruvian society in contact with them persistently tried to get them to act like anything but Cocamilla.

The Cocamilla had long-since developed cultural means of dealing with such pressures from white-mestizo society. They had become "closed" in the sense that they did not speak easily to outsiders and the men tried to behave like the white-mestizos when they were around them. When their language was mentioned, they shuffled their feet and laughed nervously.

But in the past 30 years direct domination by mestizos who formerly lived in their communities and appropriated their labor, and direct contact with the public school system had eroded their old cultural models, and had destroyed the old system of authority developed during the Jesuit period 300 years before. Cash cropping had brought them into close relations with the Peruvian economy, not as peons any longer, but as independent small producers. A "generation gap" had appeared as the younger members of the community tried to deal with new developments in their life-plans. The Cocamilla were no longer "tribal" Indians in any sense of the term, but neither were they white-mestizos, either as a society or as a culture.

As my hopes faded for seeing them secure titles for their communal land and their fishing rights protected in the immediate future, my plans for the kind of work I would write about them changed. I have always thought that anthropologists should observe some sort of large-scale reciprocity with the people who provide the data for their work. That we who study reciprocity in finely-shaded detail should ignore such a fundamental seems to me to be the most gross form of ingratitude. I speak here not of the difference between so-called "applied" or "action" anthropology and "theoretical" anthropology, but rather to the simple dictates of elementary human relations.

The present work thus grew out of experience or praxis, if you will, with the real conditions of life for the Cocamilla. It will try to lay bare the historical reasons for what might be called the Cocamilla "particularity," and to show that their specialness has broad ramifications in their relations with Peruvian national society. It will argue that the Cocamilla and other native minorities in a similar socio-economic position deserve special consideration. It will be a very different work, in short, than it started out to be. The ecological and historical data are made to serve an argument which is politically

biased in favor of the Cocamilla. I think it must be that way if I am to write it at all.

A word about method. There are three axes of data collection integrated in this work. The first is historical, the second ecological, and the third ethnographic.

In terms of history I was interested in the past of one specific ethnolinguistic group, the Cocamilla. Towards that end I studied all available documents in the community in which I lived. In Lagunas I consulted all the documents in the Catholic mission, and in the meagre public archives available. In Yurimaguas, the provincial capital, I examined church archives, consulted the public library, and examined unpublished documents in the files of the sub-prefecture. I consulted published sources insofar as they were available to me on interlibrary loans. I collected data on the people's own version of their history, and conducted interviews to cross-check the information as much as possible. There is at least one general academic work in English on the conquest of the Peruvian montana (Werlich, 1968) with an extensive bibliography for those interested in the macrohistory of the region. The history I wish to write deals essentially with the Cocamilla experience over the course of more than 330 years

of direct domination by the culture-bearers of the Western World. I wish in this way to arrive at an understanding of the sociology of eastern Peru through the Cocamilla experience.

The data on the current Cocamilla economy and ecology, the subsistence system, and cash cropping, were gathered in a systematic way. For calculating the use of time by age and sex I relied on five visits each day for one year to houses selected at random by non-replacement sampling, at times also selected at random in 15 minute blocks from 6:00 A.M. until 7:30 P.M. The activities of each household member were recorded and later given a classification number, the first three digits of which are based on the Outline of Cultural Materials (Murdock et al., 1971), and the last two digits based on the activities specific to the Cocamilla culture. This material was collected specifically so as to be analyzed by computer. This method was suggested by Johnson (1974). Over the course of a year over 14,000 observations were accumulated.

More specific data on agriculture, hunting, and fishing were collected by the use of three key informants. Each of these informants was carefully selected as to reliability and representativity after five months



experience in the community. Each was given a watch and asked to provide daily reports. The information requested involved the time they spent traveling to their work, the time worked at each daily activity, the people present, the location of the work, the tools used, and the weight in kilograms of the product they brought home. All fish were to be weighed before cleaning, and all animals were to be weighed before gutting. These reports also included the subsistence activities of other household members and the inputs of non-household members into the fields or fishing activities of the person filling out the form. Communal work sessions attended, for example, would include the names of all persons present. These reports were obtained daily for a full calendar year and presented a picture of a domestic mode of production which included the entire family, not simply data on the activities of adult males. The reports were carefully analyzed daily and recorded in large account books, the activities of each person working in the system being separated. The data were set up to be processed by computer.

Nutritional data were obtained by sitting in selected houses for periods of five to seven days weighing everything that family members ate. This was as much of a

burden on the Cocamilla as it was difficult for us. Since the families frequently eat from common dishes, we weighed what went into the pots and took notes on what was individually consumed. The leftovers were weighed before being thrown to the chickens, as were the fishbones. These data were collected in February when the water was rising toward flood stage, in March at "high water" during the rainy season, and in August at the dry season "low water" time. Nutritional data are the most difficult data to collect since the close cooperation and patience of all family members is required and I owe a large debt of gratitude to the Cocamilla families who assisted in this work.

Ethnographic material was provided by the technique of participant-observation, which is another way of saying that my family and I lived with the Cocamilla, worked with them, danced with them, marketed with them, shared ritual coparenthood with them, were occasionally laughed at by them, and never really understood them as well as we wanted to. We collected genealogies in order to comprehend their social organization with some sort of time depth. We collected census data and tried to be systematic about exploring their social world. We took



extensive notes on what we saw and heard, and classified the notes along standard ethnographic categories for purposes of analysis.

I cannot say that we came to think as the Cocamilla think--I have too much respect for the power of one's own sociocultural system in forming personality and cognitive categories to believe that we could ever "think" like the Cocamilla, but we did come to understand some of the reasons why the Cocamilla behave as they do, and at times I felt very close to them indeed.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>The use of the terms cholo and cholada will prove troublesome to some. I am aware that the terms are used in many different senses in Peru. The literature on so-called cholos and the process sometimes called cholification has become fairly abundant. I do not intend to argue that my usage of the term corresponds to its usage in the rest of Peru. The people called cholos in the tropical forest region provide yet another example of the varied use of the term and I use it here in a regional sense to refer to acculturated native Indians who are integrated into the Peruvian national class structure. In this sense the term probably has more than regional significance but I leave it to others to draw that conclusion.

<sup>2</sup>This terminology provides the framework for the use of the term "native" in this work. By native, I refer to members of ethnic groups which are American Indians. This usage corresponds to the terminology used by government of Peru in referring to Indian societies in the tropical forest regions. I consider members of the cholada to be natives when they form native communities as defined by the qualities of being essentially egalitarian communities in which social and economic relations are kinship-based. When members of the selvatic cholada do not live in such communities, they may be considered to have advanced far along the path to assimilation into white-mestizo culture and society. To be native, then, is less a matter of biology than of cultural patterns including residence and social organization.

## CHAPTER II

### WHO ARE THE NATIVES?

The Peruvian system of stratification, whether in the colonial, republican, or contemporary periods, has never made use of a strictly binary opposition between Indian and non-Indian. But neither has it been characterized by a pluralism of juxtaposed groups--that is, at once isolated from each other yet all forming part of the same economic space and subject to the same legal system, as, for example, is the case with the Jews, Italians, and Puerto Ricans of New York . . . (Bourricaud, 1975:351).

The above quote illustrates a problem. The problem arises when statements about the nature of Peruvian society such as this one are applied to the eastern lowlands of Peru. The fact is that the history and sociology of the lowland tropical forest region tend to make attempts at generalizations about Peru problematic. The long co-existence of many ethnic groups in the lowlands missions, groups which shared the same "economic space," and yet were ethnically and socially "isolated from each other" for nearly two centuries in many cases, serves as an example. The lowland tropical areas simply do not fit the model

for highland and coastal Peru. The land tenure system which heavily influenced the relations between Spanish and Indians in the highlands of all the Andean countries did not apply. Probably for the above reasons the lowland tropical forest region has, until very recently, been excluded from consideration in discussions of social stratification in Peru, usually on the basis that it is "sparsely populated" (Larson and Bergman, 1969:4) if it is mentioned at all. More frequently it is not mentioned.

Actually, with a population of close to 1,500,000 people the montaña accounts for over 10% of Peru's total population, hardly a negligible number. It is only the fact that this population is spread over the 60% of Peru which is or was covered by various sorts of tropical forest that allows the region to be dismissed so easily. If the same number of people were gathered in one place, their social composition would doubtless arouse more interest and attention.

But if this region is not to be analyzed with the rest of Peru, how is it to be thought of? The history of post-conquest geo-politics in the Amazon basin has meant that the native populations of the tropical forest regions of the Andean countries and those of Brazil have had very

different histories; the Amazon basin in general cannot be thought of as a social unit in any sense. Peru, for example, became a refuge area for at least four large groups of riverine Tupian Indians between 1549 and 1700 (Bollaert, 1861:2-3; Edmunson, 1922:119-127; Vasquez, 1881). Spanish military control in what is today lowland Peru determined considerable cultural divergence in the upper Amazon from the lower Amazon which was controlled soon after 1500 by the Portuguese. For the Andean countries of South America the lowland tropical forest was always a far-off hinterland. Difficulty of access through the rough topography of the eastern valleys of the Andes, covered with thick cloud forest growth, tended to protect the Peruvian native forest and river Indians from total destruction. On the other hand, Portuguese slavers were more or less free to wreak havoc on Brazilian natives by traveling up the broad Amazon River and its tributaries from Pará.

To be sure, the destruction of forest and river Indians during the years from 1885 to 1912, when world demand for rubber was dependent on the dispersed wild resources of the Amazon Basin, took place in both the Peruvian and Brazilian Amazon. Labor-intensive extraction methods were frequently accompanied by the slavery and starvation

of captive Indian populations (Valcarcel, 1915; Singleton-Gates, 1959). But by this time Brazil had few easily accessible native Indians left and it is symptomatic of the relatively more numerous Peruvian Indian population that most of the infamous "correries" (Indian roundups) of this period took place in Peru. Today the results of the very different history of the Peruvian Amazon and that of Brazil is starkly suggested by simply population figures. Brazil has approximately 120,000 native Indians in the entire country (Supysáua, 1974) while Peru has approximately 212,500 (Uriarte, 1977) in the Amazon region alone.

It must be emphasized that the situation described above is not due to pre-conquest population differences. By all accounts the Brazilian Amazon River valley and its tributaries were more densely populated than any part of the Peruvian Amazon (Medina, 1834; Acuña, 1918). Rather it is due to an accident of geo-politics which gave a large region of the Amazon basin to Peru, a country which could not efficiently dominate or exploit it. The Andean mountains were the barrier, and Lima, the capital of Peru, was on the coast. In between were up to six million Quechua and Aymara Indian peasants who provided



at once, labor for the new colony, and a management problem which has occupied and plagued the dominant but minority white-mestizo society ever since the conquest.

Yet the Peruvian Amazon in its recent social history is very much a part of the Peruvian nation, even though it forms a distinct region within national boundaries. However, when Mariategui took up an analysis of Peruvian society in 1928 he dismissed the montaña completely as insignificant.

The montaña still lacks any significance sociologically or economically. It may be said that the montaña or better put, the floresta, is a colonial dominion of the Peruvian state. (Mariategui, 1928:151, translation mine)

At the time the lowland tropical forest was the sixth largest lumber exporter in the world. Rubber export had reached enormous proportions a few years before. The department of Loreto had had two attempts within twenty years at revolution. The scandals of the Putumayo River in which the rubber gatherers enslaved and destroyed as many as 40,000 native Indians were well-known history (Singleton-Gates, 1959).

In the early part of the 20th century when people turned their gaze to the lowlands in eastern Peru, it was



through strangely tinted lenses. Disagreements about the nature of eastern Peruvian society usually revolved about racial categories. Wilhelm Sievers' well-known Peruvian and Bolivian geography (Sievers, 1931) divided Peru, as do most geographers, into three regions, the sierra, the coast, and the montaña. His estimate of the population of Loreto (then in dispute with Ecuador) was 150,000 people. Wiese (1921) had computed earlier that roughly one-half of these were Indians while 45.8% were white or mixed. Sievers disagreed and estimated that 60-70% were mixed "bloods." What all of this meant in socio-cultural terms is difficult to fathom. Saenz had this to say:

The population of [eastern Peru] apart from the small groups of mestizos and mestizo-blancos is formed by the Jivaros, the Chunchos, and other tribes. . . . They speak a great variety of languages from the primitive inje-inje to others more developed such as aguaruna-campa. Most of these people live from hunting and fishing and lead a nomadic life, although some have initiated the agricultural step, for they are dedicated to the cultivation of small fields on the riverbanks. (Saenz, 1933:13-14, translation mine)

That views such as these were extremely unsophisticated hardly needs to be pointed out. In fact, earlier accounts

were much more sophisticated. In 1791, a hundred and forty years before, Fr. Manual Sobreviela, the dynamic Franciscan guardian of Santa Rosa de Ocopa, had visited the lower Huallaga River region (Aristio, 1861:29-50). His map clearly recognized the distinction between the "faithful" Christian Indians (fieles or almas) and the non-Christian Indians (infieles or savages) in the area bounded by the Andes and the Ucayali River. In addition he noted a stratum of white-mestizo governors and priests. The distinction between fieles and infieles was more than a label of religious convenience. It also implied very different life styles between Indians gathered in white-mestizo dominated communities who were given Christian instruction and whose socio-political organization had quasi-military hierarchies imposed on it, and autonomous groups of Indians who avoided contact with the whites and whose socio-political organization was essentially egalitarian.

Travelers in the 19th century such as Herndon (1853) were even more sophisticated about the montaña society, perhaps because the society itself was becoming more complex than a simple Indian/White distinction would indicate. In Herndon's accounts of the lower Huallaga, he

distinguished between free forest Indians who were captured and sold as slaves to Tarapoto residents, peasant farmers without ethnic label (apparently the completely assimilated remains of former tribes such as the Yurimaguas and Aysuares in the town of Yurimaguas, for example), Indians in towns under secular and religious authority, such as the Aguanos in Santa Cruz and the Cocamillas in Lagunas, and finally the white-mestizo stratum, including priests, military governors, and traders.

Such elaborations as the above should have provided the basis for some coherent theory of social structure in the montaña, but by the 20th century it appears that the White/Indian distinction had only become more polarized; in the current sociological imagination the Indians had all become reconverted into savages who spoke primitive languages such as Saenz's above mentioned "inje-inje." Part of the problem was that the only social scientists who wrote about eastern Peru were anthropologists, and they were totally uninterested in the current sociology of the tropical forest regions. Farabee's 1907 expedition to the eastern Peruvian lowlands, for example, makes no comment on the condition of the Indians from whom he

collected data, beyond the bare mention that most of them were "working for" rubber patrons (Farabee, 1922, 1, 77, 81, 96, 136, 152, 163). Even the terrible scandals of the Putumayo (cf. Congress, 1913, 160; Singleton-Gates, 1959; Valcarcel, 1915) seemed to stimulate no interest among anthropologists to do anything except to hasten to "salvage" what cultural data they could before aboriginal cultures were completely destroyed. Tessman's (1930) treatise on eastern Peruvian Indians gives but few hints about the real conditions of their existence and lays great stress on "pure" scientific data. Studies in the acculturation genre were not done in the region until recently. Anthropologists, in short, worried a great deal more about the provenience of "culture traits" than they did about slavery.

The net effect of such writing by ethnographers before 1945 was to give the impression, quite falsely, of an upper Amazon Basin full of wild Indian tribes who were just coming into contact with traders and scientists. Even Espinosa's monograph on the Tupian Indians (including the Cocamilla, the classic "fieles," Indians who had been living in or closely connected with missions for nearly 300 years at the time), mentioned merely that they were dominated by patrons and described their ideal culture

patterns without further reference to their socio-political environment (Espinosa, 1935).

One may argue that the ethnographers of the time were merely fulfilling the demands of their profession. It is not, after all, the job of an ichthyologist to be concerned with birds, nor of the medical doctor to analyze social structure. While this may be true, it cannot be seriously maintained that contemporary socio-political environments have so little to do with ethnography, even if the goal of the ethnographer is only historical reconstruction of a culture. It is currently acceptable theory that the environment in which social data is gathered has a great deal to do with its interpretation and its reliability.

Another factor which influenced the re-conversion of the popular image of tropical forest social structure from the fairly complex schemes along the great rivers hinted at by Herndon and other travelers to the simple White/Indian distinctions of the 20th century may have been the growing pressures by a mercantile-extractive economy for "civilized" workers. San Roman (1975) has noted a change in the 18th century consideration of the Indian as "pagan" who must be "christianized" to the

Indian as "savage" who must be "civilized." He lays the burden for explaining the change in emphasis to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the region in 1767 and the increased demands on the Indians by a growing and secular trading, agricultural, and extractive economy during the 19th and 20th centuries.

It is true that the role of workers in extractive and large-scale agricultural enterprises often demands that they understand and participate to some degree in the money economy as they become pawns in a supposedly "rational" system. It is probably not necessary for them to understand the system completely to do so. One may note in this connection that the term for the so-called "half-breeds" who helped the rubber gatherers round up Indians as workers was "rationales" which was equivalent to calling them "civilized" (Singleton-Gates, 1959:230). But neither the 19th century nor our own era has been free of missionizing efforts, and the Jesuit era was hardly free of encomiendas, extraction, trading, and slaving, sometimes aided and abetted by the priests themselves. The expulsion of the Jesuits and their replacement by a series of secular and Franciscan priests in the late 18th century Mainas missions merely reflected



a relative shift in the power structure of the tropical forest regions. It tipped the balance in favor of more direct secular domination of the Indians by the white-mestizo minority of traders and land-owners. Thus, the image of a halcyon Jesuit period during which the Indians were merely protected and instructed in religious matters must give way to a more realistic assessment of the long-term economic importance of Indian labor to all montaña settlement.

By the first half of the 20th century the distinction between Christian and non-Christian Indians in the tropical forest regions had become blurred, and Indian society began again to be considered as one pole of a racial-cultural dichotomy which had as its counterbalance the white-mestizo sector. It may be that the image of two somewhat disconnected sectors, a "modern" or "progressive" one, and a "backward" or "traditional" one was easier to hold in the low tropical forest regions because of the writings of ethnographers mentioned above, but such works as Roger Casement's report to the British government on the rubber camps (Singleton-Gates, 1959), the congressional report on slavery in Peru (Congress, 1913), and Harry Hoy's (1946) description of the Peruvian logging



industry were pregnant with implications of the links between the allegedly separate sectors and complex stratifications of local society based on access to credit.

The 1940 Peruvian census reflects the lack of detailed knowledge of the society of the region. The census reported that at least 321,341 people lived in Loreto but only 52% of them were actually counted (Censo, 1944:3). The other 48% were only estimated. The social/racial classifications were White-Mestizo, Indian, Black, and Yellow. Loreto was considered to be 65% Indian (Censo, 1944:46-47). The black and yellow populations were a scant .16% of the total population.

The picture is not uniformly dark for this period, however. Avencio Villarejo, in 1948, published Así es la Selva and in 1959 published La Selva y el Hombre which located Indian groups with an excellent map and classified them into such categories as "civilized" and "semi-civilized" with much information on the current status of Indian societies at the time (Villarejo, 1948, 1949).

In 1972 Sefano Varese published a study for the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) in which he tried to make sense of the society of the

tropical forest region. His work is the first serious attempt to understand the contemporary social reality of the Peruvian tropical forest Indians. A major theoretical base for his analysis was the premise that the analysis of the political and economic position of "tribal minorities" was inseparable from the analysis of the entire surrounding society. This was true because the empirical conditions for all aspects of their existence is imposed by the dominant society. Nor can an analysis of their position be made without taking into consideration the international economic and political environment in which the Peruvian national society exists (Varese, 1972:3-4).

All Peruvian tropical forest Indians are now and have for some time been directly affected by the international demand for a series of forest products, and the national demands for certain cash crops. All tropical forest Indians, with no exceptions, supply labor or products to a national or international market, and all, with no exceptions, have at least some material needs which cannot be satisfied without participation in those markets. The factor of national and international economic demands which leads to concrete social, economic, political and cultural relations between tropical forest Indians and the dominant

white-mestizo society is the most basic element of the social reality of the tropical forest region.

Varese's schema, admittedly preliminary, for the sociology of the lowland tropical forest region involved setting up a polarity between the native societies and the "white" society which I have called white-mestizo. Native societies are defined by Varese as "ethnolinguistic minorities" rather than "tribes" to avoid giving the impression that any given group is characterized either by complete internal cultural homogeneity or by possessing contiguous territory. The term seems specifically designed to include the cases of the Campa and the Aguaruna, both of which peoples are dispersed, and both of which have rather distinct sub-cultural variations within the same language group.

Having polarized the Indian/Non-Indian populations on the basis of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic differences, and especially differences in access to the means of production and power, Varese presents an analysis of selvatic society based on occupation and relative power. White society is divided into three categories. Category one is an urban based commercial sector and includes large land owners or administrators. Category two is a rural

mixed group of small farmers and commercial traders and outfitters. Varese calls these groups intermediaries from the native viewpoint. Category three includes the non-commercial network of government officials, military police, and missionaries whom Varese calls "the communicators of white society." This group is especially characterized being ethnocentric and racist, and it forms the channel by which national economic and political power is transmitted to the tropical forest region.

The native population is grouped together into one category, but with the admission that generalizations are difficult within this sector, since occupation is variable, and some incipient local stratification is visible with native bilingual teachers and native boat-owners. In terms of access to economic and political power, however, the native population is always at the bottom of an "asymmetric pyramid" vis á vis the white-mestizo sectors. The native populations along the navigable rivers tend to be "disintegrated and atomized" by the demand for labor on the part of the extractive economy, while the highland forest communities tend to cohere and consolidate around their territory" (Varese, 1972:19).

The units of Varese's analysis of the native sector are (1) ethnolinguistic groups divided into, (a) highland forest and, (b) lowland forest regions, on the basis that the two regions have been characterized by two distinct sorts of frontiers, demographic (colonists who occupy land) in the case of the highland forest groups, and economic (extractive industries for the most part) in the case of the lowland forest groups. Ethnolinguistic groups are further divided into "native communities" which are operationally defined as follows:

[The Native Community is] the stable socio-economic unit, bound to a specific territory, with a type of settlement which can be either nuclear or dispersed, which recognized itself as a community, and which is distinguished from other neighboring socio-economic communities, native or not  
(

Furthermore, Varese indicates that the two sorts of frontiers have had differential effects on the highland forest and lowland forest peoples. The choices of the highlanders have been to retreat into marginal areas, to be absorbed as agricultural laborers through a process of being "detribalized" with resultant loss of land, or to retain small and inadequate pockets of land in settled regions. The choices of the lowland forest and river groups are more subtle: (1) "De-tribalization. . .through

a process of proletarianization and ethnic disintegration or dissolution" (Ibid., 10), but in most cases with the retention of land for those who remain in the rural areas; (2) Retreat to remote areas to avoid contact.

### Toward a New Model of Lowlands Native Societies

To arrive at an understanding of the current sociology of native groups in the lowland forest, it is necessary to revise some of Varese's concepts. This should be done first by examining his units of analysis. The term "ethnolinguistic group" is troublesome. It makes an assumption which is difficult to support. That assumption is that language is somehow necessarily related to ethnicity. As Barth (1969) has shown, ethnicity may be defined (for some purposes) as the maintenance of boundaries between social groups over time by means of cultural differences. While language is usually one of those cultural differences, there is no a priori way of determining that it must be. The focus on language leads to discussions of a native group which may vary widely internally in social organization, responses to local pressures, and degree of self-identity as natives as if



it were a homogeneous social unit. In other words, non-linguistic factors may be much more important than linguistic factors in determining the nature of a given group's adjustment to white-mestizo society. A focus on linguistic factors also diverts attention from native groups which maintain ethnic boundaries (or, as in the case of the Cocamilla and most other members of the cholada, have them imposed) in spite of partial or total loss of the original native language. It is not difficult through empirical research in the lowland forest to demonstrate this point. In the highlands it is adequately demonstrated by the peasant populations of the Cajamarca region whose cultural differences are ignored because they speak Spanish rather than Quechua.

Politically, the consequences of the emphasis on language has led to the denial of the "native" status of large sectors of autochthonous populations in the major river valleys who may be losing at least the public use of their languages and who are now under strong pressure from a new wave of white-mestizo and highland Indian agricultural frontiersmen. Populations such as the Cocamilla are biologically self-sustaining and clear ethnic barriers separate them from white-mestizo settlers



and wage workers. Nevertheless, the focus on language has meant that they have no protection for their communal lands even today, and their fish-protein base is being constantly diminished by white-mestizo commercial fishermen without any attempt by the government to give them the guarantees which "natives" are supposed to have under the law. Most of the Cocamilla speak Spanish, while generally adults under 30 understand but do not speak Cocama.

If linguistic criteria are removed from "ethnolinguistic groups," we are left with "ethnic groups." Two concepts are implied which require definition if we are to arrive at a new model for comprehending the social reality of the lowland forest. These concepts are "ethnic" (with the implication in this case of "native ethnic") and the concept of group. Groups are easier to deal with. Native society in the upper Amazon has its locus in the unit of the extended family (broadly defined) both today and in the past. Numbers of extended families may form nucleated settlements of individual houses, nucleated settlements of one large house, or more dispersed "neighborhoods." The nucleated settlements or neighborhoods tend to interact socially around cultural institutions which usually take the form of one or more integrative rituals throughout the year.

The field of regular inter-personal interaction over the yearly cycle is conceived by the native as constituting a social unit which may be conceived in many cases simply as a kinship unit. This unit is distinguished from other social units of the same order. In the great majority of cases the unit has a name. It is this unit which largely corresponds to Varese's "native community" and his definition can be accepted with the provision that the term "stable socio-economic unit" does not necessarily imply geographic stability except within very large areas, nor does it imply that personnel do not freely flow across community boundaries without destroying the conceptual, territorial, or economic unit. The phrase, "bound to a territory" must not be taken to mean that the territory does not change as ecological conditions change. In addition, it should be stressed that Varese's definition of the "native community" says nothing about its socio-political composition, a feature of prime importance in the dealings of the native community with the state as Chapter IX will show.

Groups of communities form larger aggregates which may be objectively and subjectively identified by cultural criteria which may or may not include language.

They may or may not be contiguous in space. Such aggregates have little or no importance today in economic or political terms in the lowland forest. They may, however, be conceptually significant in the broader social organization of the group. Native ethnic group may be used to refer to this aggregate or communities in the abstract, or they may be given conventional "linguistic" names such as Cocama, or Campa. Such terms, as pointed out above, have more historical value than current sociological value. Given the broad ties of social organization and ethnic boundaries usually marked by linguistic features, this ethnic and linguistic group corresponds to what is frequently called a "tribe" in the literature.

Native communities in the lowland forest are articulated to the national society in a variety of ways. We may conceive of a continuum ranging from more to less domination in their dealings with white-mestizo sectors. The few communities with relatively little contact tend to be completely dominated by a few patrons whenever they are in contact, while communities in permanent and continuous contact along the great rivers choose the middlemen with whom they deal with relatively greater autonomy, including working directly as individual community members

with agricultural development banks, or working as wage laborers in extractive industries.

One might conceive of the above continuum as consisting of the poles "colony" to "class." Colonized communities have access to upward social mobility only in the very limited local context. The range of contacts with the dominant society is narrow; perhaps a few traders, lumber patrons, or missionaries may be the only members of the dominant society which will have dealings with them in a year's time. Their relatively isolated position means that the prices they pay for material goods from the dominant society is much more dependent on the quality of the social relationship they have with the traders than the actual market prices of the items.

The members of communities fully in the class system may move up through that social system if they are able to shed their ethnic identities through geographic migration and subsequent education. This ability depends on a knowledge of white-mestizo values, economics, and politics which is quite outside the range of the colonized (see Delgado, 1968, for a more general discussion of social mobility in the Peruvian class system). In terms of middlemen, the native community member in the class

system has relative autonomy in choosing which middlemen he will deal with and the prices for his labor and products are much more dependent on market factors than are prices in the colony. In the "colony" native community prices are strongly influenced by the dominant-subordinate character of the white-mestizo/native relationship. Prices also vary according to the relative lack of market information available to the native. To sum up, the communities tending toward incorporation in the regional class system have a much greater number of social and economic connections with the rest of society than does the colony, and those connections fall along a much wider qualitative range. A major point made by this thesis is that the communities tending toward incorporation in the class system are the communities historically identified as mission Indian or Christian Indian.

Such people are called the cholada by the dominant white-mestizos of the Peruvian lowlands to distinguish them from the tribal (colony) Indians. The term cholada refers to the members of these communities in the context in which it is normally used in the lowland tropical forest area of Peru. The socioeconomic position of the Cocamilla cholo is more similar to that of the rural

agricultural village Indians of the highlands in that the term in the tropical forest region does not imply the upward mobility of the persons to which it refers as is usually the case in the highlands. One semantic connection with the term as it is used in the highlands is that the cholo of the tropical forest region stands between persons called Indian and persons called mestizo just as the cholo of the highlands does in many instances. Thus, it refers somewhat imprecisely to obviously acculturated native Americans. It should be added that even though, objectively, upward mobility is possible for only a few of the selvatic cholada, their insertion into the national class system means that they are conscious of the possibilities of such mobility. Tribal Indians simply are not sufficiently involved in the national structure to care about individual social mobility within it.

The term "class" is used above advisedly. The broad front of contacts which native communities in the regional stratification system have with white-mestizo sectors, and their similar lack of access to the means of production, may not be enough per se to identify them as belonging to a social class. However, among the Cocamilla



at least, there is a definite and growing sense of class identification frequently expressed in terms of native versus Spanish surnames (apellidos bajos vs. apellidos altos) which transcends the ethnic group. The identification as cholo is closely tied to the identification as apellido bajo and is, in fact, a class identification based upon cultural criteria and difference in access to political and economic power.

To complete the methodological/conceptual inventory required for a new model of lowland tropical forest native ethnic groups now requires dealing with the extremely problematic terms "native" and "ethnic." As many studies in the Peruvian highlands show, distinguishing the "Indians" from the non-Indians is not as simple as it might seem (Adams, 1953; Arguedas, 1952; Borricaud, 1954, 1975; Hammel, 1961; Mangin, 1955, 1965; Metraux, 1959; Mishkin, 1946; Nuñez del Prado, 1951; Tschopik, 1952). This is true in part because Indian identity is socially stigmatized all over the Andean countries.

It is popularly thought that in the tropical forest areas the problem is somehow simplified; the "Native Community Law" (20653), for example, does not even approach the problem of defining who the natives are, and Varese's



article which is discussed above conspicuously avoids it. It seems to be assumed that the natives will step forward and identify themselves, or that there will be criteria, clear to all, on which to base an application of the law. The laws and their application clearly imply that if the natives do not so identify themselves, and if they are in the economic position of being subsistence mixed farmers who sell small surpluses to the regional markets, then they will be treated like the Cocamilla as campesinos (peasants) along with white-mestizo settlers in a similar structural position. They are thus classed campesinos regardless of other factors in their mode of production such as discrimination in access to credit, organization of labor in communal forms, and lack of familiarity with white-mestizo bureaucracy which put them at a disadvantage with regard to the white-mestizo settlers.

#### The Problem of Ethnicity

When Metraux (1959:227) rejected the list of objective cultural traits which supposedly defined the Indian in the Peruvian highlands (i.e., coca chewing, birthplace, craft characteristics, etc.) as being too

imprecise, he proposed the criteria of ascription and self-ascription in order to settle the issue. He preceded Barth by ten years in this formulation (Barth, 1969). Barth, however, took the issue farther, and probed the logic behind ascription and self-ascription. He concluded that ethnicity depended on the maintenance of boundaries between social units over time by means of cultural differences. Following Barth, however, one cannot predict what "cultural differences" will provide such boundaries (i.e., ritual, food habits, dress and ornaments, etc.). Thus, Barth's definition is not a scientific definition, if one defines science as the art of generating statements which have predictive power. Barth's "definition" is, in fact, merely an empirical description (Cf. Gomes, 1977:38-40 for an interesting discussion on this point). Another problem is that if we follow Barth and define ethnic groups as socio-cultural systems enclosed by cultural boundaries, a certain amount of tautological reasoning automatically follows. Statements such as "such and such ethnic group disappeared because it failed to maintain its boundaries" become common. If the question is changed to a query about why a given ethnic group failed to maintain its boundaries,

the answer usually becomes, "because it was 'detribalized' or weakened as an ethnic group." If an ethnic group is only defined by its boundaries, then the two terms are synonymous. In any case, such a definition of an ethnic group is of little practical help in determining if a given group is or is not an ethnic group.

The fact is that most studies of ethnicity and ethnic groups begin with the assumption of the existence of such groups and proceed with an examination of their boundary-maintaining mechanisms. But what calls such groups into being and what is the cause of their persistence, or alternatively their demise, are two separate questions. The cause of their persistence and the means of their persistence are also distinct questions.

In the usage applied here it is necessary to separate the term "ethnic group" from a usage common to the social sciences. Wagley and Harris (1958:244-253) point out that the term has become synonymous in some sectors with "minority group." As such, ethnic groups can only be considered to have existed since the rise of state societies which included them, thereby making them minorities. But this usage misconstrues the nature of ethnicity. In the sense used here, ethnicity would be the sense of belonging to a cultural group regardless of whether it is a "tribe" or an "ethnic minority."

Ethnic group, then, refers to the group of primary cultural identification regardless of the group's objective status with regard to the state society. If an ethnic group is included in a state society, as all modern ethnic groups are, it becomes an ethnic minority.

In the above sense, ethnic groups appeared on the scene as social organizations long before the rise of the state. Generations of anthropologists have indicated that in a pre-state condition, ethnic groups might be defined as territorial groups organized by theories of consanguinity (or simply geneology) and affinity and residence rules. Boundary mechanisms vary, but language differences, or at least certain linguistic features, are common. Such territorial units must be distinguished from most groups claiming "ethnicity" in the modern world, and the term is used in an extremely variable way today. The features common to both are that the theme of material interest runs as a motive through the course of history, and all ethnic groups like all social groups must solve problems of continuity, communication, authority, and ideology, as well as boundary problems in order to survive.

There is a further problem with Metraux's and Barth's formulations of the nature of ethnicity which is a purely

practical problem in operationalizing a definition which can be used in the lowland tropical forest region of Peru. Eidham (1969) has shown that in a situation in which ethnic identity is stigmatized, the aspect of self-ascription as a member of an ethnic group tends to be acted out only in private situations. The ethnic boundaries are operating, but they are not easily visible in public life where the two sectors interact. In the case of eastern Peru this is precisely the case because of the situation of the Cocamilla and other native ethnic groups as conquered and dominated peoples. This makes it highly unlikely that many Cocamilla or any other Indians in their position are going to step forward and identify themselves as such unless they see some very concrete economic or social advantage in doing so. Since the Cocamilla and others in their position are rarely offered information as to possible economic advantages of the public assumption of Cocamilla identity, they do not proclaim publically their ethnic membership.

All this leads to a dilemma: What, in fact, is the minimal definition of an ethnic group which can be operationalized and has objective significance? The answer is clearly that such a definition is as impossible as defining a concept of "word" which will be valid in all

languages. Pursuing the linguistic analogy, in the same way that all non-gestural words may be assumed to have a carrier, the voice, all ethnic groups have an essence; like all distinct societies they may be assumed to have provided for biological and social continuity. Putting the methodological cart before the horse, this means that such groups must have a theory of consanguinity (geneology) and affinity which is expressed in behavior, which in turn implies rules of inclusion and exclusion, and the authority to enforce them (Wagley and Harris, 1958:1-14, 237-295).

Fortunately, just as the concept of "word" may be defined structurally for a given language, a concept such as native ethnic group may be formulated in terms of regional social behavior. In the upper Amazon region of Peru, a native ethnic group might be defined as follows:

A native ethnic group is a cultural group, the members of which are inhibited from marrying members of the larger society of Peruvians. It derives its composition from the resultant endogamy and from the application of its own exogamic principles as distinct from Catholic canonic law to persons outside the primary kin group.

The above definition depends for its validity on two social facts. The first is that persons with "native" surnames infrequently marry persons with Spanish surnames in the region. The second is that all native ethnic groups



have theories of consanguinity which are different from white-mestizo sectors. The Cocamilla, for example, prohibit marriage to any person bearing one's own paternal surname under the theory that they are one "blood." Thus, exogamic principles are extended to persons outside the group which a white-mestizo would consider the "primary" kin group (i.e., 1st, 2nd, and 3rd cousins).

Since theories of consanguinity loom as important in native social organization, it may be predicted that life in native communities will be organized along kinship lines whether or not the community is "tribal" or "detribalized" and part of the class system. It may also be predicted that because of the relations between social organization and the rituals and symbols which make social life coherent, any native ethnic group will have at least one integrative ritual at regular intervals which will tend to be exclusive and which, while it may be formally similar to that of a neighboring ethnic group, will have a content which expresses the individuality of the group practicing it. It is important to stress again that the "detribalization" of native communities is not synonymous with their disappearance.

The question of what a native ethnic group is and how one may determine whether a given ethnic group is or is not a

native ethnic group is now largely solved. The remaining question, as far as this dissertation is concerned, is one of determining what is the essential relation between the native community and the state. The native extended family mode of production and the importance of kinship units in native social organization provide the basis for a theory of this relation. These two features of native life mean that native communities will tend to be politically acephalous and organized around related groups of families rather than central political figures with overall authority as in the case of white-mestizo culture. Given this organizational base, a theory of the relation between the native community and the state would necessarily be one of their mutual and natural antagonism, for the state is a bureaucratic organization which depends on the adherence to formally agreed-upon rules. The state cannot tolerate the acephalous community. Thus, we may predict that the native community will only be drawn into the orbit of the state by deception and/or violence, and it will be maintained in the state system only by duress. Whenever the state tries to impose itself upon the native community directly on a day to day basis, one may predict that conflicts and clashes will occur which can be traced to the opposed nature of the state and the native

community social and economic organization. When these clashes are overcome, it will only be at the expense of converting the native community into a "non-native" community, that is by changing native cultural behavior into acceptable white-mestizo behavior.

The chapters which follow are arranged in two parts. After a brief description of their ecological setting and some basic information about their life-style pre-historically, Cocamilla history is explored in order to examine the changes they have undergone as a result of their contacts with the Western world through time, and, I hasten to add, as a result of the internal logic of their own social system as it is supported by their mode of production. Special emphasis will be given to their position in the developing social stratification of the region. Two related problems will also be explored in the course of this work. The first problem was outlined in the first part of this chapter. It is a problem of conceptualizing the lowland tropical forest region as something other than the two-class or two-race region it is commonly considered to be. The Cocamilla and others like them form a lower class which is neither Indian in its own conception, or mestizo in either their own or in the mestizo view. It is a class

ideologically based on their historical separation from other Indians as Christian Indians, and created by the praxis which that status implies. Though called cholos their position in the regional economic structure and their historical trajectory has little to do with the term cholo as it is used in the highlands or on the coast (cf. Fuenzalida, 1970). The second problem concerns the units of sociological analysis. There are the household, the native community, and the native ethnic group.

. The historical depth seems essential to sound sociological analysis, but it would be included in any case, if for no other reason than for the very practical reason that the Cocamilla are now in a rapidly changing and developing world, and, as Levy (1972) has observed, the most cruel and stupid mistakes in modernization result from ignorance about the history of the people involved.

The second section will continue the theme of the relations between the Cocamilla and the state society in which they are included, this time synchronically. The interface of the relationship will be examined at the level of the economic system, the level of social organization, and the level of ideology and identity. A final chapter

will draw conclusions as to the reasons for their survival thus far from the perspective of cultural materialism, and attempt to project a trajectory for them based on possible actions by the Peruvian government.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE COCAMILLA

The eastern lowlands of Peru, mostly covered with trees and shrubs except where human use has destroyed it, presents two orders of problem to the Peruvian nation. The region presents formidable problems in settlement, strictly from a tactical and ecological standpoint. An even more serious problem is that few if any people have ever understood the region thoroughly in both its social and ecological aspects. To make a sweeping statement even more sweeping, I will include most of the people responsible for planning and implementation of planning in the tropical lowlands in the ranks of the ignorant. To calm outraged friends and colleagues, the writer must be included among their ranks as well, for the complexity of the problem is overwhelming, and the division of labor among academic disciplines mitigates against global views.

To further the point about how little the region is known in general, even after 330 years of occupation and the recent intense search for oil in the Peruvian lowlands,



there are no topographical maps available for any of the lowland forest. The impression is gotten from the literature which points out how little slope there is in the 4,167 kilometers from the Atlantic Ocean (Elevation 0 meters) to Iquitos (Elevation 300 meters) along the Amazon River, that the entire Amazon basin is as flat as a table. This impression pervades even the thinking of normally careful planners. The Swiss project of cattle-raising at Genaro Herrera on the Ucayali River, for example, had serious problems with cattle when the planners cleared the forest for pasture. Rolling hills, holes, and deep gullies severely prejudiced their effort. The terrain throughout the lowland forest region is very accidental within limits of fairly low relief, and this has many consequences for native agricultural practices. The old people among the Cocamilla used to say that when the earth changed from water to land, the waves got frozen into place.

Different people split up the totality of the forested lands east of the Andes in different ways. The usual ceja/selva distinction based on altitude above sea level was echoed in Pulgar Vidal's *Geografía del Perú* (1968) when he divided eastern Peru into Selva Alta and Selva Baja<sup>1</sup> with the former occupying the altitude of 400 to 1,000 meters,

and the latter occupying the elevations under 400 meters. Ecologists today are able to improve on the scheme with the concept of "life zones" (Holdridge, 1967) based on three factors: average annual bio-temperatures (the annual average of temperatures between 0°C. and 30°C.), average annual rainfall in millimeters, and the potential evapotranspiration ratio ( $\frac{\text{mean annual temp. in C.} \times 58.93}{\text{mean annual rainfall in mm.}}$ ), which expresses

the relation between rainfall and evaporation. By Holdridge's system much of the lowland forest in the Cocamilla area would be classified as "premontane tropical moist forest." Table 3.1 shows the relevant climatological data from 1976 (Bandy and Benites, 1977), and for comparison, the average rainfall from a 21 year sample. These data were taken in Yurimaguas, Loreto Department, and are very similar to figures for Iquitos, indicating that the totality of the area immediately along the lower Huallaga, lower Maranon, and lower Ucayali rivers may have a similar climate.

One should be aware, however, that ecologists currently working on the problem now believe that the entire lowland forest under 400 meters is probably a mozaic of premontane tropical moist, tropical wet, and tropical dry forest, depending on purely local convection cells which seem to remain persistently in some regions (Ewell, personal

Table 3.1

Climatological Data from Yurimaguas Experimental Station--1976

Month	Temp. °C.		MM Precip.	Wind in Meters/Sec.	Relative Humidity	Solar	
	Maximum	Minimum				Radiation Cal/cm2/day	
January	30.8	22.0	396	0.86	84.8%	337	
February	31.5	22.2	67	1.14	80.5%	357	
March	31.0	22.3	222	0.92	82.5%	355	
April	30.5	21.9	245	0.53	89.7%	332	
May	30.6	22.5	167	0.53	87.4%	340	
June	30.6	21.9	93	0.42	86.5%	320	
July	30.1	17.9	62	0.67	76.8%	371	
August	31.2	19.9	126	0.55	77.1%	407	
September	32.6	19.6	129	0.55	77.5%	416	
October	32.1	21.1	402	0.61	81.2%	397	
November	31.7	21.1	230	1.17	81.1%	408	
December	31.1	21.2	219	0.88	82.6%	387	
Annual	31.2	21.1	2359	0.74	82.3%	369	
Daily Absolute	35.8	11.2	115			609	

(Data from Bandy and Benites, 1977:3).

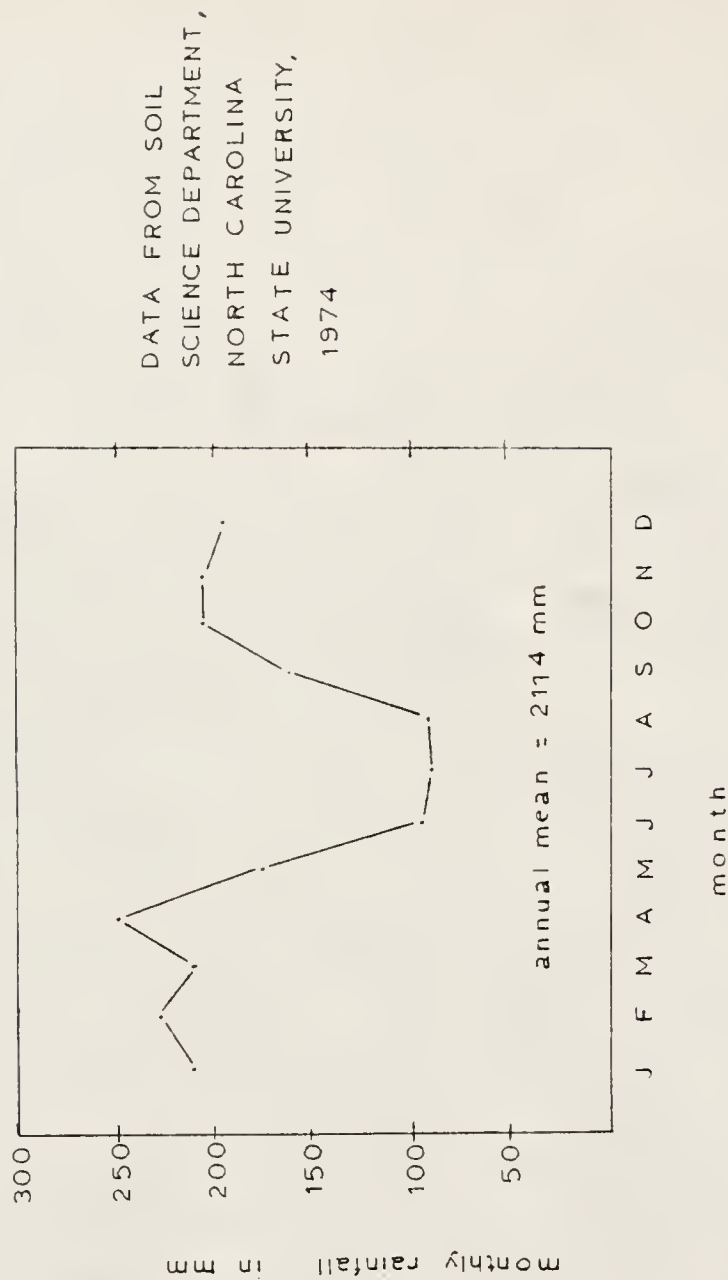


Figure 3.1

Graph of Twenty-one Year Average Rainfall in Yurimaguas.

communication). This variability may go a long way toward explaining some of the cultural diversity noted in the region, even among non-riverine Indians.

The life zone classification does not tell the whole story, however. Various micro-environments within a life zone have profound consequences for human occupation. The conventional distinction between riverine Indians and inland Indians (or forest Indians) reflects great differences in adaptation to the two major poles of subsistence resources in the lowland tropics.

### Proteins and Populations

Lowie observed that the major part of the human populations of the lowland forests were more adapted to the rivers than to the areas between the rivers. While he recognized that some people were canoeless, he considered the possession of "effective river craft" a diagnostic feature of the cultures of the lowland tropical forest (1963:1).

Meggars (1970) pointed out certain similarities in density of settlement and ease of subsistence among populations living in the limits defined by the margins of the river valleys. She contrasted these populations with the more scattered and migratory populations in the

areas between the rivers which she supposed to be an adaptation to poor soils and low protein availability, to name the two most important variables.

Lathrap (1970) agreed with the basic division of cultural types (while disagreeing with Meggar's assessment on general population movements) and took the point far enough to insist that Panoan Indians who lived inland from the Ucayali River were "de-cultured" refugees from river populations, driven inland at some previous time by fierce competition for the fertile lands of the river valleys. They had been unable, he said, to sustain the relatively rich symbolic life of the riverine Panoans, primarily because the poor soils and protein resources of the inland areas did not permit large and enduring settlements.

Gross (1975) took both Meggars and Lathrap to task for emphasizing relative soil quality rather than relative richness in animal proteins between river floodplain and inland areas. He brought a great deal of data to bear on the subject and emphasized the very low ratio of animal mass to total biomass in the inland areas. The distribution of proteins, he maintained, was sufficient in and of itself to explain population size and stability. His Peruvian data were taken from Bergman (1974) who studied the



subsistence patterns of a group of Ucayali Shipibo as an example of riverine subsistence. These Shipibo had no access to high ground and their entire agricultural cycle was based on the rise and fall of the river, for in the rainy season the river flooded all their lands.

While conceding the essential validity of the riverine/inland distinction, it seems wise to hedge a bit. Recent studies have shown rather large settlements of Matsés (Mayoruna) between the Ucayali and Yavari rivers, hardly the scattered fugitives predicted by Lathrap's model (Romanoff, personal communication). Campos (1977) has studied Shipibo on the Aguatia River far from the major river valleys who seem to exploit both river and inland areas about equally. Previous studies of the animal mass/total biomass have not included stream fish, and no studies of this kind have been conducted in eastern Peru. In all of the area treated by this study, small and large streams (quebradas) wind their way inland for long distances, often carrying surprising quantities of fish species unique to the stream environment, and easily exploited with fish poisons. Even the floodplain Indians such as the Cocamilla did a considerable amount of hunting and gathering in the inland forests during flood times. Thus, there seem to

be groups who exploit both riverine and inland environments and no simple separation of the two kinds of groups is likely to be accurate.

### Land and Water Features of the River Valley

The area of interest to this study is mainly the lower Huallaga River valley between Yurimaguas and the confluence of the Huallaga and the Marañon. It will have reference, however, to the Marañon as far upstream as Borja and as far downstream as the mouth of the Napo River, the Pastaza River as far upstream as Lake Rimachi, and the Ucayali from its mouth to the area around the current site of Tierra Blanca, some 12 days upstream by canoe. For this reason, these areas are included in Map 1, but the following description is of the lower Huallaga region, the most significant area for the Cocamilla. The river valley dynamics, of course, have wide application.

Thirty miles downstream from Yurimaguas, near the town of Santa Maria, the Huallaga River leaves the confining low hills through which it has flowed rapidly, being unable to easily widen its channel, and slows down abruptly, dumping an enormous load of sand just below Santa Maria. From that point on, it becomes a wide threaded river, moving leisurely

at about 4-5 kilometers per hour, and meandering back and forth across its valley boundaries. Between Santa Maria and Yurimaguas, entrenched meanders indicate that the uplift which provides the inland high ground between the Huallaga River and the current location of Xeberos is more recent than some of the Andean uplift, and in fact earthquakes are frequently felt all over the lower Huallaga region.

Below Santa Maria the width of the river floodplain averages close to 5-8 kilometers. As the river migrates back and forth over this valley, it has a predictable dynamic cycle. The cycle is born in the fact that while the water tends to run in the shortest straight line from A to B, following gravitational laws, the unequal pulls of river channel and sand bars tend to make the river currents shuttle back and forth, forming curves (*vueltas*). Distance between riverbank communities is often expressed in terms of the number of vueltas between them.

The curves lengthen into long and elaborate U forms as the faster-moving currents on the outside of the curve wear away the bank and the slower currents deposit sand on the inside of the curves in longer and longer beaches. These beaches are the major resource area of the river channel itself, or were in pre-conquest times, for fish

could be speared along their margins, and turtles, turtle eggs, and iguana eggs could be gathered in July and August on the beaches themselves. The main part of the river channel was effectively sterile for native use, for they lacked the means to exploit the resource.

Eventually gravity wins the struggle of the vuelta and the river shortens its channel by cutting off the U and isolating it into an oxbow lake (cocha or tipishca) connected to the main river by deep canals (caños) which serve as channels to fill and drain the lakes as the river goes up and down from day to day and seasonally in response to local and regional rains. In high water time, from February until May (and a less drastic flood in November and early December) other channels to the lakes open up (sacaritas) and in all seasons the lake and river system forms one connected water mass.

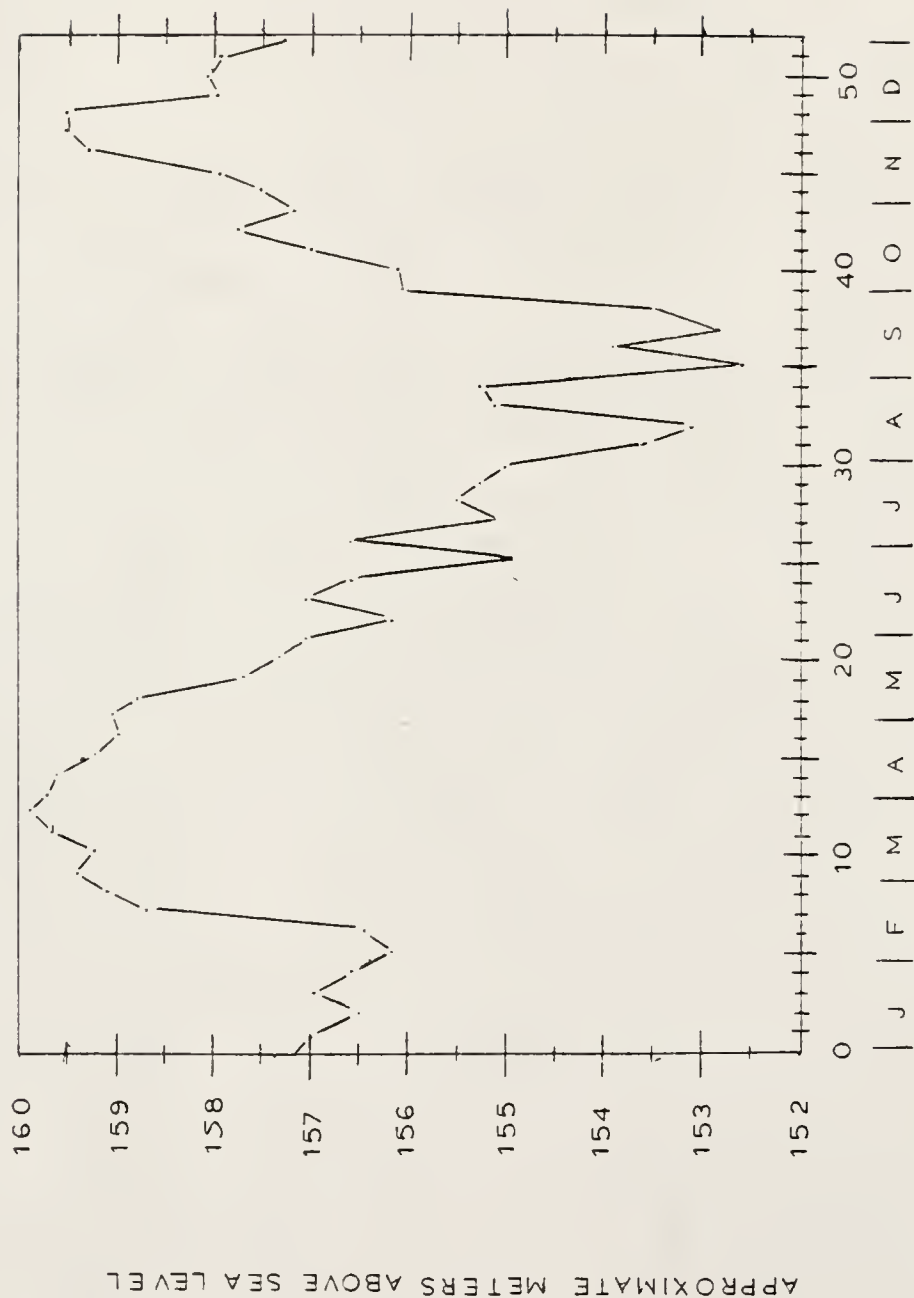
The river is never stable. It is always either rising or falling and the lakes connected to it rise and fall in rhythm. Tremendous surges of water go in and out through the caños and they may change the direction of their current quite abruptly as the lakes change from fill to drain. The rise and fall of the lakes and rivers is an important feature ~~energizing~~ energizing the floodplain ecosystem for it allows rapid incorporation of plant material cycling

from an enormous area of forest into the lakes and into the total water system. The drastic rises and falls (as much as two meters in 24 hours) of the lakes create an unstable ecosystem for the fish populations. The instability favors the propagation of "R" selected species, selected for the ability to grow and reproduce rapidly, and this feature of the ecosystem dynamics helps explain why it is that the lakes and rivers of the lowland tropical forest are such an extraordinary resource for native populations. The lakes, especially, are rich in fish and reptile populations. Figure 3.1 shows the rise and fall of one such lake on a weekly basis for 1977.

Eventually, the oxbow lake silts in and its caños close except in high water. The Cocamilla vividly express what happens then when they say the lake "dies." Aquatic plants take over and the lake is gradually made uninhabitable for fish, although some "dead" lakes have large populations of paiche (*arapaima gigas*), the fish known as pirarucu in Brazil and the largest freshwater fish in the world, for a long time before they are extinct. Eventually the lake becomes a muddy bog colonized by a few tree species, waiting for the next migration of the river channel to destroy it.

FIGURE 3.1

WEEKLY AVERAGE OF LAKE WATER LEVEL FROM JANUARY 1977 TO JANUARY 1978





The total length of time from birth of a vuelta to the death of the resultant lake may vary widely. One vuelta observed over the 19 month field portion of this study lengthened the arms of its U over 1,000 meters after being relatively stable for 50 years, putting a community on the cutting bank into full flight inland. Once a lake is formed it seems unlikely, from the historical evidence on riverine communities gathered in this study, that the lake can exist for more than 200 years.

One other feature of the lakes should be noted. During the flood season from February until May many fish move into the lakes and into the surrounding forest which is flooded. In the forests they can feed more directly on plant material including the direct utilization of fruits, but they become very hard to catch by native techniques. This creates a protein crisis at least once a year. A related feature of the flood is that when the lake goes back into its normal boundaries the fish populations become more and more dense as the size of the water body is reduced until, at a critical point sometime in June or July, they begin to migrate out of the lake in phenomenal numbers. The local term for such migrations is the "mijano" and at such time fishing in the caños, through which the fish

must pass, is very productive. Natives today sometimes try to block the channel temporarily and net as many fish as possible. Leaving the lakes, the fish migrate to the rivers and move upstream, forming pockets of local richness for the communities which happen to be where the fish are at any given time.

The land features of the floodplain take their forms from the dynamics of the river. Every time the river spills its banks it deposits the greater part of its sediment load within 30 meters of the channel, creating rather uneven natural levees which tend to be higher in elevation than the lands immediately in back of them. The zone of the levee (the banda) is the zone normally used today for river-bank agriculture. The crops most frequently grown are plantains, corn, sweet manioc, taro, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and recently jute (*malva urena*).

Old levees along old river channels and old oxbow lakes may be high enough so that only exceptionally high floods in the rainy season can cover them. These areas are called restingas and are an important land resource for the natives, not only for agriculture, but also for hunting. When the flood waters rise in the floodplain, terrestrial animals tend to concentrate on the restingas and hunting

them becomes easier. Many Cocamilla today only hunt such animals when the restingas become islands, and a special verb, restinguiar, describes the activity.

The lower lands of the floodplain are of two kinds. Lands lying so low that even moderate rises in the water level will flood them, and which tend to act as rain catchment basins, are called tahuampas and are not used for any purpose except for gathering and occasional hunting of the tapir and the capybara which inhabit them. Lands which are not high restingas but which have adequate drainage are called bajiales (also used as a generic term for any lowlying area), and are farmed and hunted. These lands are of exceptional significance today for cash-cropping and they flood annually, but with a much lower rate of sedimentation than the banda. Today they are mainly used for jute, corn, watermelon, and various herbs.

The last significant land forms of the river valley are the beaches along the river which are exposed from late May until November. These are of two kinds. Sandy beaches, over which water flows too rapidly to deposit silt and which are not particularly good for any crop, are called playas. As mentioned earlier, these beaches are significant fishing and gathering resources. Beaches over which

water runs slowly have an annual layer of silt deposited on them and are used to plant beans, peanuts, and (recently) rice. These beaches are called barreales. Appropriate crops can be grown on them at a comparatively light cost in labor energy.

### Land and Water Features of the Upland Plain

The drainage of the uplands is far from complete. All over the upland areas are rain catchment basins which tend to be swampy during most of the year. These are called bajiales, the same as the annually flooded farmlands of the river basin. The ground between the bajiales is called altura, a term which refers to any land which never floods from the rivers. Nevertheless, some of the altura does flood, not from the rivers but from local rainfall rushing down the larger quebradas which cut their way toward the river from the divide between the Huallaga and Ucayali rivers. These quebradas can be quite good sources of fish, for many of them are born not in the leached sediments of the ancient ocean and lake beds of the Amazon basin, but rather in sedimentary bedrock which is comparatively rich in nutrients. The native names for these quebradas frequently express a distinction between "white water"

(yurac yacu) and "black water" (yana yacu), a distinction which some ecologists think is significant in terms of the environment the two types of streams provide for fish populations.

Many quebradas have their own small floodplains which, in cases of heavy rainfall flood for a period ranging from two hours to two days, creating a permanent micro-environment with more friable soils than the usual upland soils. These areas are good for hunting and for farming. The crops planted on them include most of the repertory of the banda and the bajiales (i.e., plantains, corn, manioc, sweet potatoes, taro, herbs, and sometimes (recently) rice and jute). These lands are recognized in the native classification system for soils as varinales, meaning that the varina palm (*phytelephas macrocarpa*) is a dominant understory plant. The palm has cultural significance as the source for the gable covering on native houses. A worm which grows in the palm is consumed, and the fruit of the palm became valuable for a time as button material before the widespread use of plastic buttons.

The sandier upland soils are recognized as irapayales. The irapaya, an unidentified plant with a palmate arrangement of long laurel shaped leaves, is used for roofing

material and the soils on which it grows are recognized as being good for cultivating manioc and a root used for fish poison (barbasco), but not for plantains or corn.

Land along quebradas which do not flood, and which tend to have heavier clay soils than those that do flood, are also valued, possibly because of the drainage offered by the quebrada. These soils are used for plantains and (recently) occasionally rice.

On the west side of the Huallaga River, the floodplain extends much farther inland, and relatively little of the land forms are presently used for farming. The settlements tend to be either on the river bank or on the shores of oxbow lakes.

The impression is widespread that the adaptation of the aboriginal populations in all of the Amazon valley was mainly to the rivers. The generic term in eastern Peru, for example, for rural residents is ribereños. A close reading of the Cocamilla adaptation today, however, reveals that the floodplain lakes are much more important than the rivers as fish protein resources. This, as pointed out before, is because some of the lakes are closer than the rivers to the sources of primary production emanating from the forests, and they are, therefore, much richer in fish



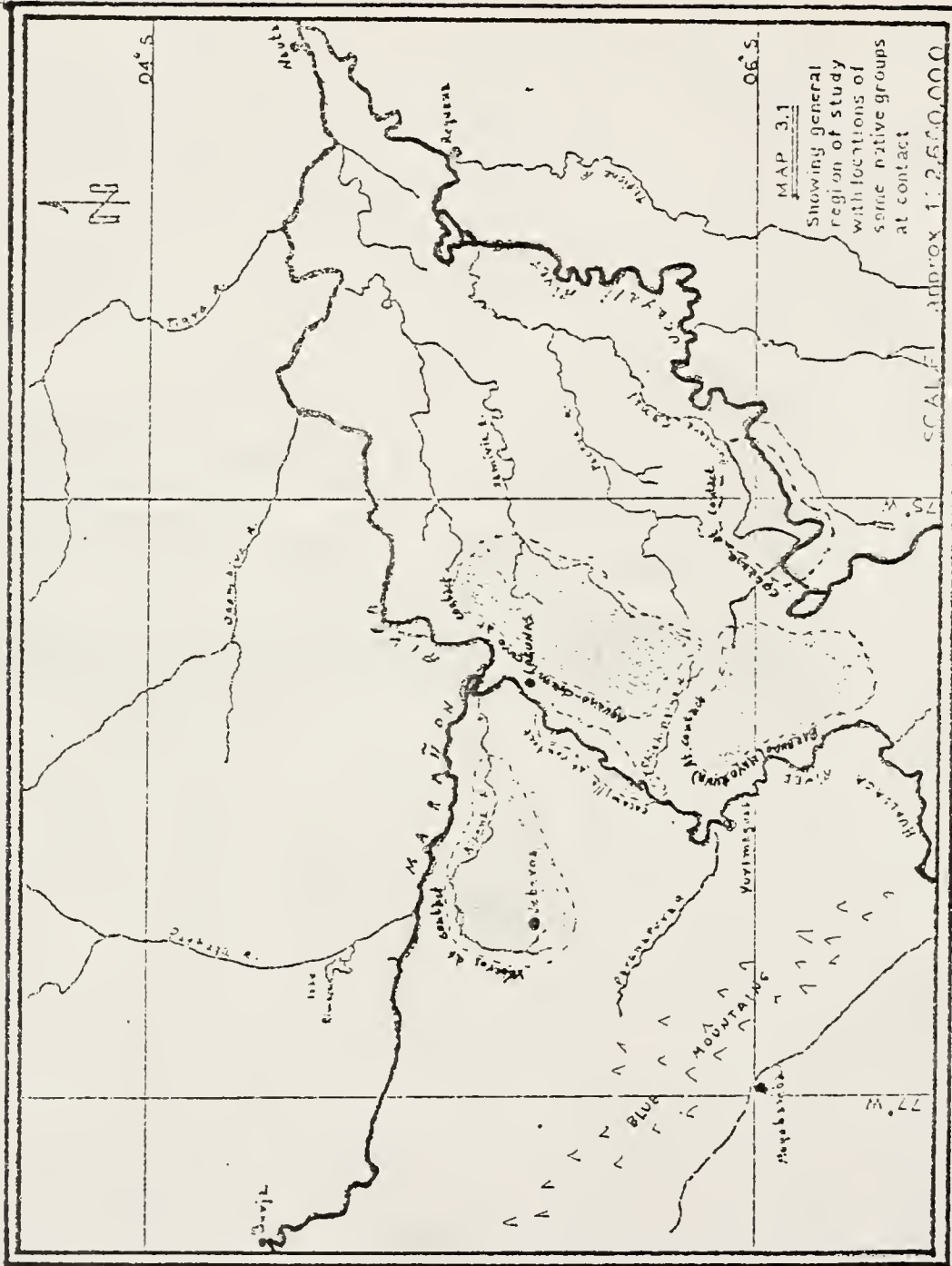
populations. They are also easier to exploit. The lakeshores and valley margins are closer to alturas, and the present Cocamilla farming system involves exploiting both alturas and bajiales (used here in the generic sense to include restingas; in other words, all floodplain land which is farmable except for the beaches). Even populations along the west bank of the river who do not have easy access to inland alturas, normally have one or two fields in the east bank alturas, sometimes a day's travel or more from their communities. These fields are a sort of insurance against extremely high or long-lasting floods, guaranteeing that some food will be available even in cases of emergency. In all probability the Cocamilla in pre-conquest times did not use the alturas east of the river because of conflicts with the Aguano-Chamicuro people.

### The Larger Region

The valley of the lower Huallaga River is only one of the valleys which concern the Cocamilla historically, although by far the most important. A small part of it was their homeland at the time of contact, and they have subsequently occupied most of the lower 100 kilometers of it. They have recently occupied lands along the lower

Marañon Valley, and have begun to occupy some of the rivers and quebradas north of the Marañon River. The displaced and the dissatisfied swell the migrant barrios of Yurimaguas, Lagunas, and Iquitos. Their familiarity with the region is long-standing as will be seen. At least from the mid-19th century on and possibly before, they used lake Rimachi, near the Pastaza River as a major resource for Manatee and Paiche fish, traveling up to 11 days in canoes to get there, and staying until the Muratos drove them out. Before the conquest they and the Cocama in confederation were the scourge of the entire lower Huallaga River and the Marañon from Borja to the Ucayali River. According to some accounts, they prevented other Indians from occupying the shores of the river or the accessible floodplain. After they were reduced to a few starving and sick Indians by the 1680 epidemics they became river explorers and travelers for whites. The theatre in which the history of the next chapter takes place is this larger area of operations with special emphasis on mission sites. They will be traced from contact to the present and at all times will be seen in opposition to the dominant Spanish and later white-mestizos. Their history is a history of action and reaction, not the blending of peoples. It reflects the

fixed intent of peoples to remain separate under conditions of direct domination. First, however, a few pages will be devoted to reconstructing what is known about their culture before contact, and their placement with regard to other ethnic groups. Map 3.1 shows the region pertinent to the Cocamilla and Cocama.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE PREHISTORY AND ABORIGINAL CULTURE OF THE COCAMA AND COCAMILLA

The prehistory of the Cocama and Cocamilla in the natural realm described in the previous chapter is somewhat obscure. If Lathrap (1970:145) is correct in identifying the central Ucayali River Caimito complex as belonging to the ancestors of the Cocama, the probability is that the Cocama fissioned from the Omagua not too long before the 14th century A.D., and pushed on upstream and into the Ucayali. They must have established themselves as far south as the Tamaya River at that time. Lathrap's model of Tupian expansion implies that they had been pushing the Panoans upstream on the Ucayali River and that the process is ongoing today. It is difficult to reconcile this view with the historical data for the Cocama. At the time they were discovered in 1557 by the expedition of Juan de Salinas Loyola (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:LXXIII), they were isolated between a group called the "Benorinas" and the Panoans to the South. It seems extremely improbable, using Salinas

Loyola's information on distance (and factoring it for a comparison between his estimates in leagues and actual kilometers on modern maps) that the Cocama were distributed at that time any farther south than Tierra Blanca, and probably not even that far. This would indicate that the Panoan Indians had been steadily pushing back the Cocama for 200 years, and not the reverse. By the 17th century, the Cocama were indeed at war with the Panoans to the South, and the Cocama were forced to have their largest concentration of population on the southern frontier.

The Cocama, by 1619, had separated into two groups, the Cocama proper and the Cocamilla. The direction of fissioning was not upstream on the Ucayali, but rather across the isthmus which separates the Ucayali and Huallaga drainages in their lower reaches. On the Lower Huallaga River the Cocamilla (frequently called the Cocama of the Huallaga or simply Guallagas in the old literature) had formed at least one village somewhere in the vicinity of the mouth of the Shishinahua River, probably on the western side of the river valley of the Huallaga (Figueroa, 1904: 78-84; Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CLX). The Cocamilla were at peace with the Xéberos Indians, an inland group between the Huallaga and Marañon rivers, and had assimilated to



the Xéberos Indians in dress by the time of contact. The men tied the penis up with a string passed around the waist, and occasionally wore a sort of short poncho which was open along the sides. The women wore a short skirt (pampanilla) which extended from the waist to the knees (Figueroa, 1904:82). The Cocama men continued to dress as the Omagua did, in rather loose long shirts, brightly painted with various dyes.

The Cocamilla may have assimilated to the upland non-canoe Xéberos Indians in more than dress, for a subgroup, perhaps a group of families separating from the main body of the Cocamilla, were known as the Pambadeques. They may have exploited the upland forest west of the lower Huallaga River, just as the Xéberos did. After contact some of these Cocamilla were actually grouped at the mission of Xéberos, first in their own annex, San Pablo de Pambadeques (founded in 1646), and later as a barrio in a re-located Xéberos, the present site of the town (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:141-142; Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:227; Figueroa, 1904:72).

Another group which may have fissioned from the Cocamilla and about which nothing is known except that they lived upstream from Santiago de Borja, possibly on the

Santiago River (and thus were the westernmost Tupi), that they were divided into encomiendas before 1644, and that their language was Tupian, were the Xibitaona (Figueroa, 1904:100; Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:121).

Both the Cocama and the Cocamilla were living in villages on the floodplain when first described. The Cocama lived right on the riverbank (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:LXXIII, CXLIV; Figueroa, 1904:82,109). The Cocama were described by Salinas Loyola's men as having "a very populated land, with more than 20,000 people [wearing] robes and shirts, very docile of good disposition and will. . . ." (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CXLIV). In 1644 Gaspar de Cugia, who saw them briefly, estimated their population at 10,000 to 12,000 persons and said they had three villages along the Ucayali with a total of 150 houses. The largest village of 80 houses was on the Shipibo frontier to the South (Grohs, 1974, thinks these must have been the Conibo and not the Shipibo).

The Cocama population in 1644 was composed of 2,000 "indios de lanza," or males old enough to fight (Figueroa, 1904:109). It is difficult to evaluate these population figures. If taken literally, Cugia's estimate would mean that each Cocama "long house" had about 73 people in it.

The Huallaga Cocamilla averaged about 40 people to a house in 1651, but they may have been reduced by disease to some extent by that time (Figueroa, 1904:226). The Cocamilla probably did not exceed 1,000-1,600 persons in population even with the Pambadeques. Their village was not reported as being especially large at contact, and the usual number of long houses for a Tupian village in this area seems to be around 40.

In terms of demography, both groups present some anomalies. By the time the Cocamilla were counted in 1651 (Figueroa, 1904:81), there were only 170 idios de lanza, and a total population of 600, even with at least one long house of Cocama who had come back from the Ucayali and joined the Cocamilla in 1644. This gives a population ratio of 3.53 women and children (the Spanish called them the chusma) per adult male. The missionaries normally multiplied the adult male population by 4 or 5 to arrive at population estimates. It seems likely that many children had died of imported diseases between 1621 and 1651. The Cocamilla had been visited as early as 1621 by the Borja Spanish, and there was a serious smallpox epidemic among the Mainas Indians and Borja Spanish as early as 1642 (Figueroa, 1904:25; Jiménez de Espada, 1897:CLX), on the Marañón River,

although there is no written evidence that it affected the Huallaga River. It should also be remembered that Moyobamba, an important Spanish settlement along the Mayo River had been occupied for over 100 years by 1651. Diseases such as smallpox affected the children more than the adults (Figueroa, 1904:161; Chantre y Herrera, 1901: 273). Also, after Cugia's visit to the Cocama with Spanish soldiers in 1644, at least half the Cocama died before 1652 of what was probably influenza (Figueroa, 1904:81, 102-104). It seems likely that the Cocamilla would have suffered similarly. The population ration may have been accurate, however. The Cocama certainly practiced infanticide regularly, probably killing more females than males (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:76, 274-275). They were said by priests who were familiar with many Indian groups to have few children.

#### The Aboriginal Subsistence Economy

Unfortunately, the description of the aboriginal subsistence economy of the Cocama and Cocamilla is grouped with that of the Omagua in the Handbook of South American Indians (Metraux, 1963:691-693). In the case of the crops planted, it is likely that the Cocama and the Cocamilla

was based on the exploitation of the floodplain lake and river protein sources and floodplain soils. The Cocamilla were reported to exploit the upland forests (an elevation difference of perhaps 8-10 meters) during times of scarcity in the winter floods, and it seems likely that the Cocama did the same. The Cocama were said to have no altura in their territory around the upstream mouth of the Puinahua Canal. This area is all flooded in the winter from February until May or June. However, it is possible that the Cocamilla did plant some high ground (Figueroa, 1904:98-104). Fields were cleared annually by slash and burn techniques. It is not known how often fields were rotated to forest but today they are not planted for more than two three years in succession.

The basic staple crops of the Cocama and the Cocamilla were plantains, sweet manioc, and corn. Secondary staples were probably sweet potatoes (camote), taro (mandi), beans, various other tubers such as cara and taya-cara (*Discorea* sp. and *Solanum* sp., respectively), various kinds of squashes, peanuts, and pineapples. The major part of the corn and manioc probably went as it does today to make a mildly fermented beer which is a dietary staple and highly esteemed.

Corn was planted with manioc as soon as the flood-waters fell in June and July. Corn could be eaten within 60 days while the fastest manioc took between three and four months to develop. Corn thus served as an emergency staple in cases where all the plantains died in the floods. The slower varieties of manioc matured just as the waters rose again for the next flood.

Food storage of agricultural products is not mentioned for the Cocama or the Cocamilla, but it may be assumed that the manioc, which had to be harvested before the annual flood covered it, was stored in two ways as it is today and as it is also reported for the Omagua. After peeling the tubers can be stored with little spoilage for up to four months in pits dug into the flood plain and sealed with dirt and banana leaves to prevent oxidation, and may be used for manioc beer (masato) or a manioc pancake (meio or casabe) when the flood goes down (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:131). Some of the manioc undoubtedly was stored in the form of manioc flour (farina) to last over the time of scarcity in the winter. They probably used the tipipí to squeeze the juices out of the manioc pulp aboriginally as they do today.



Fishing and hunting water mammals, turtles, and turtle eggs were the main source of protein. The Cocamilla fished daily, and it is not reported that they stored dried fish as they do today. They did, however, store river turtles, gathered on the beaches in July and August as they laid their eggs, when there was a surplus. The tools used for fishing and hunting involved detachable-headed harpoons for the paiche and the manatee (vaca marina) and light spears for smaller fish (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:102). For warfare and perhaps for hunting larger mammals a spear thrower (estólica) was used (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:88, 606). Hooks, traps, weirs, large palm fibre nets, and fish poisons are regional cultural characteristics, but there is no information on their use specifically among the Cocamilla and Cocama.

### Social Organization

The pre-conquest social organization of the Cocama and the Cocamilla is unknown. It cannot be assumed that they were organized in moieties as the Omagua may have been, although there are some bits of information that leave the possibility open (cf. Figueroa, 1904:102-103). The Cocamilla, as mentioned above, lived in villages of longhouses,

each with as many as 40 people in 1651. The original population of these houses may have been as high as 60-70 people in 1644 if Cugia's data on the Cocama at that time is correct. The Omagua houses averaged 50-60 people (Steward, 1963:698). If the social organization of the Cocamilla today were true in the past, each of the houses would have been composed of patrilineally related men and their wives and children. Numbers of residents in each house would have varied drastically, depending on the "strength" of the dominant male resident (not necessarily the oldest resident). Houses near each other may have also belonged to the same patrilineal segment, and each patrilineage or sangre, as it is expressed today, would have been exogamous. Marital residence would have been patrilocal, unlike most Tupian groups in Brazil, but in accordance with the general patterns in the upper Amazon.

The Cocama and Cocamilla kinship system was almost certainly bifurcate merging, judging from today's terminology in the Cocama language, with Iroquois cousin terms and with bilateral cross-cousin marriage in a loose sense which included inter-generational marriage between a man and his cross-cousin's daughter. This last feature of the aboriginal marriage system was the only one to be mentioned by the priests (Figuerola, 1904:253-54).

Each house or group of closely related houses probably had an informal leader in certain affairs whom the Spanish called the cacique, but the community had a number of such caciques, none of which had control over the community as a whole, and none of which had the power to commit even his own household followers to activities which did not agree with them (Figueroa, 1904:81-82, 106-108). The early Spanish were looking for leaders on European models and statements such as that of Juan Salinas Loyola that the Cocama were "obedient and respectful of their chiefs," (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:LXXXII) has to be understood in a very loose sense. Later Spanish explorers marveled at the acephalous nature of the political system and wondered why the Cocama and Cocamilla lived in communities at all. They concluded that it was primarily for reasons of defense and social life and not because they were politically centralized (Figueroa, 1904:81-91, 106-108). Communities probably fissioned by entire households or segments including more than one household, thus removing entire sangres from the community. Figueroa reported that when one of the Cocama communities fissioned in 1644 that a cacique, one of the greatest of the Cocama, with the people who recognized him, was the fissioning social unit.

Chantre indicates that marriage among the Cocama and Cocamilla was not very stable, wives frequently going back to their own houses. He also implies that they practiced polygyny (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:226).

How the extended household functioned as a productive unit is not known and it is extremely unlikely that the patterns of today with close connections to a capitalistic market economy were those of the past. The division of labor noted for the general region aboriginally relegated to women the job of preparing masato and chicha. The women also made ceramic vessels. Men had exclusive responsibility for warfare, hunting, fishing, and tool making. The two sexes cooperated in field work and carrying agricultural products to the community (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:68). Diego Vaca de Vega grouped the Cocamilla with the Mainas Indians in a description of the division of labor, and it is impossible to know to which group he was referring when he said the following:

The men occupy themselves in hunting in the forest and in fishing and making their canoes, and traveling on the river in them from place to another, and the women in planting and cleaning the fields, making thread, weaving, and making clothes to paint (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CXLV, translation mine).

In current practice the women work with the men in the fields and help carry agricultural products.

Given the social organization of the Cocama and Cocamilla in terms of intra-village household relations, it is extremely probably that each village was autonomous and only kinship relations linked them. This should be emphasized because Metraux (1963:687-706) seems to identify the Cocama with the Omagua in terms of social organization. However, from early accounts of the Omagua, they were much more densely settled and much more politically centralized than the Cocama (Edmunson, 1922; Acuña, 1698).

In terms of inter-village relations and inter-ethnic relations it seems like that the Cocama and Cocamilla were always friendly toward each other but practiced warfare outside the ethnic group. Vaca de Vega reported a general trade in cotton cloth and palm fibre mosquito nets (cachibangos) for the Cocamilla are and the Mainas area and it is known that the Cocamilla made such things (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CXLVI; Steward, 1963:694-697). The extent to which Cocama and Cocamilla warfare patterns, as chronicled by the early Jesuit missionaries, were aboriginal, however, is difficult to assess. The earliest missionaries reported that the Cocama were at war with the Chipeo (probably the

modern Shipibo) (Figueroa, 1904:108-109). Salinas Loyola, a hundred years earlier, on the other hand, spoke of how "docile" the Cocama were, and he had no problem with them in 1559. They even acted as canoemen for him to take him on up the Ucayali River into Panoan territory, probably ferrying him as far as the Aguaytia River or perhaps even farther (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:LXXIV, LXXXII, CXLIV). Vaca de Vega, in 1619, who lived in Borja and should have known, makes no mention of Cocama-Cocamilla raids on the Mainas Indians who were in the process of being placed on encomiendas by the Spanish (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CXLII-CLX). The Cocamilla lived on the western side of the Huallaga River valley both before and after they were missionized because they feared attack from the inland groups on the other side of the river. These groups were hostile as late as 1654 and consisted of the so-called Mayoruna (Barbudo) Panoans to the south of the Cocamilla, and the Aguanochamicuro groups to the north (Figueroa, 1904:111-115, 124-134).

Based on the above evidence, it seems likely that Cocama and Cocamilla warfare patterns, including head-hunting, were aboriginal but that they were aggravated by the Spanish presence. Whatever the extent of aboriginal



warfare, Cocama-Cocamilla headhunting raids which terrorized the river explorations of the 17th century missionaries on the Marañon River, and which gave the two groups the name of "corsairs" were increased by the presence of European iron tools. In six to seven days through a series of canals with two portages, the Cocama would pass from the Ucayali River to the Huallaga River with 40-50 canoes during the flood season, probably reaching the Huallaga through the Shishinahua River.<sup>1</sup> Once on the Huallaga, the Cocama would join the Cocamilla and travel down to the Marañon River and to the Pastaza River hunting heads and iron tools, and carrying away other Indians (Figueroa, 1904:99; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:140). They were especially fond of attacking the Mainas Indians (Figueroa, 1904:42). It is significant that in 1638 the Mainas Indians were the only Indians in the region who had tools, having been in direct contact with the Spanish since 1591 (Figueroa, 1904:15; Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CLIV). It should also be emphasized that by the time the Cocamilla and Cocama were known, the Spanish had been in nearby parts of the Ceja zone for nearly a hundred years.

Known weapons of warfare for the Cocama and Cocamilla include the spear with spear thrower (estólica), palmwood

lances, decorated shields of cane, palmwood, and manatee hide and war clubs (macana), but not the bow and arrow (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:88). Palmwood knives were probably used.

### Adornment

Some of the material culture of personal adornment which can be pieced together is found in Salinas Loyola's description:

[The Cocama used] cotton clothes highly painted with brushes, jewelry of gold and of silver with which they adorned their persons, plates on their breasts and on the wrists of the arm; pieces of gold and silver hung from the nose and ears; wires of silver on their heads like the hoops of sieves; great plumage (Jimenez de Espada, 1897: LXXXII, translation mine).

Cugia reported that the Cocama in the 17th century wore labrets of bullets and belt buckles for which they traded the Spanish soldiers elaborate robes (camisetas), a ruinous trade which they soon stopped. They also perforated their lower lips to hang pendants of leather with beads attached from them (barbados). Nothing is known specifically about Cocama and Cocamilla body painting, although they still use wooden stamps and genipa dye (huito) on certain occasions.

### Ideology and Custom

The ideological superstructures and value system which rationalized the socio-economic system are only hinted at by the early literature. The missionaries were convinced that the Indians had no "system" at all, that they were ungoverned brutes; in the terms of the time that they had no policía. In a letter to the Jesuit headquarters in 1681, Father Lucero, the missionary who founded Santiago de Lagunas on the Huallaga River, called the Indians "Stolid animals without government because they never recognized a prince" (Figueroa, 1904:412-418). Thus, they were not disposed to make sense of Indian culture. The acephalous political structure hints at a philosophy of rather strong personal or family independence within the loose confines of the community and household social structure. Fights or feuds between individuals were a family matter and revenge was the job of the individual or near kinsmen if death resulted (Figueroa, 1904:82). There were no community means of resolving disputes.

Beliefs about sickness and death show the same feeling of social independence. All sickness was believed to be supernatural, and most illness originated within the social system, being caused by persons who wish one ill, through

the aid of shamans (Chantre, 238-239). Fear and distrust of neighbors was a strong motive to move one's location (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:69). Witchcraft was also a primary motive for going to war (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:27, 264-265).

Curing involved a stage of diagnosis with the aid of the hallucinogenic drugs Ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis* Sp.) and/or Toé (*Datura* Sp.), and a stage of casting out the harmful agent done by a Shaman who sucks out the harm, sometimes represented by an object. Sick persons were sung over constantly by the shamans and by nearby relatives (Figueroa, 1904:245). The Spanish called these curing songs cantos. The Cocamilla know them today as icaros. Each disease had its own icaros (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:107).

It is not clear from the literature that the Cocama and Cocamilla believed in two spirits as stated by Metraux (1963:702) and his source is not cited. It is clear that the Cocama believed that the spirit could leave the body; shamans were able to allow it to do so at will (Figueroa, 1904:242). At death the spirit could inhabit either an animal body or another human body. Reincarnation beliefs are strongly implied (Figueroa, 1904:242). In later colonial times and during the Republican years the Cocama came to

be known to have a great many place spirits, animal spirits, and various malevolent demons in their worldview. It is not known how many of these are aboriginal.

The value system which allowed social ranking is hinted at by Figueroa in discussing the afterlife of spirits. The larger "more generous" animals received the spirits of the "valient, the diligent, the workers, and the women who best serve their husbands, and among them the most respected killers" (Figueroa, 1904:242; Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92: 127).

Death was of two kinds. From what might be called a "light" death (including extreme sickness, called death) one could return. At this point the spirit wanders in the realms of the dead in which there may be houses and people, but can be called back by relatives (Figueroa, 1904:245). This belief is still extant with the Cocamilla and they consider it a grave error to cry within the first 10 or 15 minutes after the death of a family member. Crying gives social recognition to the death and prevents the spirit from re-animating the body. The second kind of death is permanent.

Burial was in two stages. The body of the dead person was doubled; the mouth and eyes were sealed, and the body

was placed in a large ceramic urn along with the principal possessions of the deceased. The urn was sealed by covering with a smaller urn and was buried under the floor of the house. After one year the urn was dug up, the bones were cleaned and painted, and a ceremony took place in which a quantity of "bebida" (presumably masato) was consumed which was supposed to "dry the tears." The near relatives cried, and the other guests danced. Afterwards the urn was reburied and forgotten "even to the names of the deceased" (Figueroa, 1904:249-250; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:274-275; Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:155-156). This ceremony is still occasionally seen among the Cocamilla, though with Catholic trappings, and without physically removing the body from its grave in the Catholic graveyard.

There is some indication that natural phenomena were seen as metaphors of earthly social life. The Cocama saw in thunder the sounds of assaults on houses in warfare, and the "exhalations which heads make when they are being cut off" (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:127).

The Cocama-Cocamilla ritual cycle is largely unknown. A major integrative ritual was the dance around the heads of slain enemies with much masato drinking (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:127). There was undoubtedly inter-community



feasting and especially inter-ethnic feasting for allies and friendly tribes (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:282). The ceremony, described by Chantre (1901:83-85) of hair-cutting of children which he imagined to confer nobility, is still practiced, and is a rite of passage. It takes place with male children who have begun to talk and who have thus become fully human. The ceremony today is not elaborate and most of the trappings described by Metraux (1963:699) are now absent.

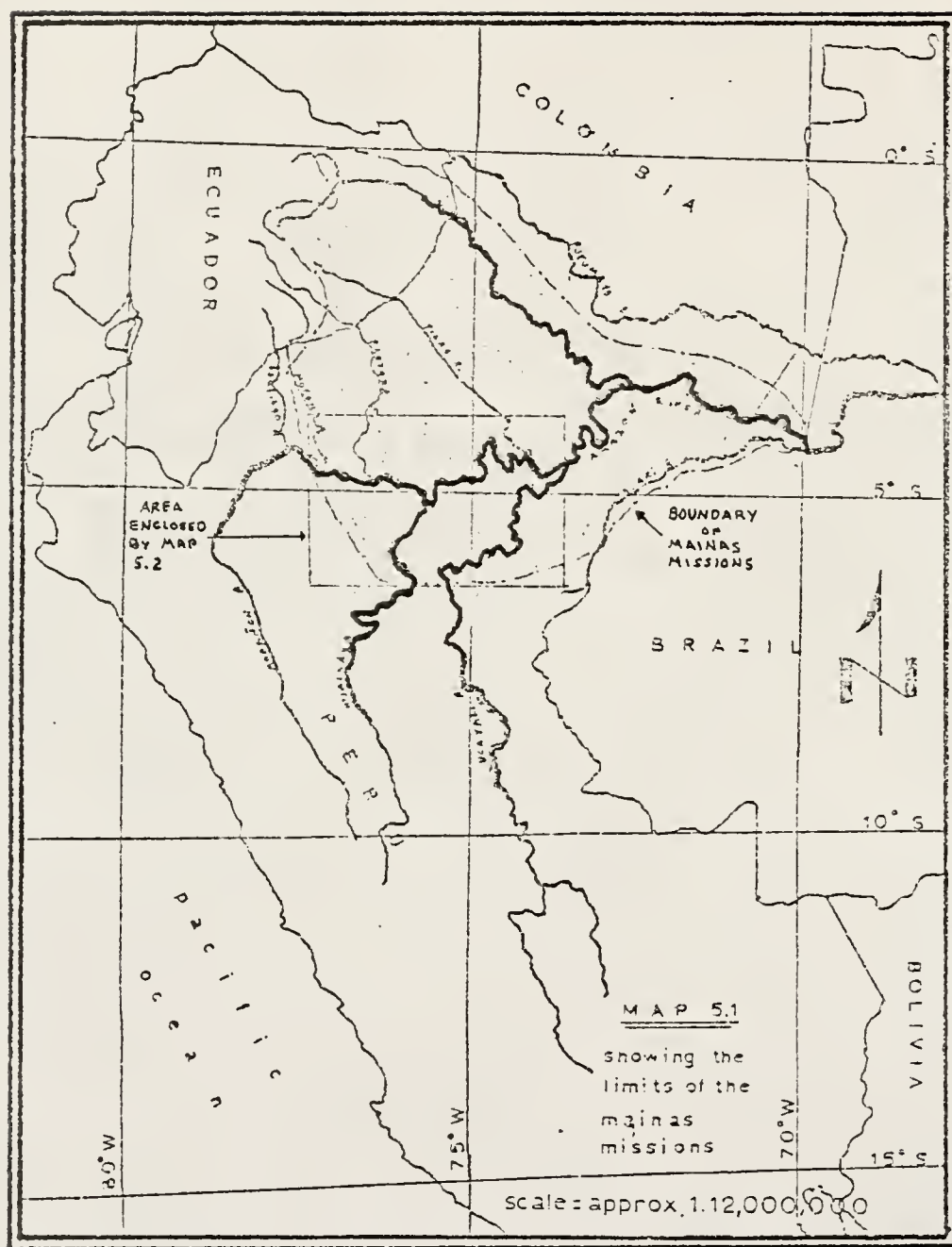
## Note

<sup>1</sup>The Shishinahua is a likely possibility because the Cocamilla were located near its mouth at contact, and even today the people living around its mouth know the trail to the Ucayali from San Antonio de Shishinahua. They pass there for fiestas on occasion. The portages may have been rather long.

## CHAPTER V

### CONTACT--THE FIRST FORTY YEARS 1640-1680

The Cocamilla probably began to feel the European presence long before they were seriously affected by the disastrous European attempts to colonize the Huallaga area. Alonzo Mercadillo, one of Hernando Pizarro's captains, had made an entry into the lowland forest as early as 1538. If Cieza's report is reliable, however, the expedition proceeded down the middle Huallaga valley until blocked by the narrow river canyon with swift rapids called the Pongo de Aguirre (Aguirre's gate in Quechua) below the mouth of the Mayo River. They then crossed over to the west shore of the Huallaga and followed the low mountain range which divides the Mayo and Paranapura River drainages all the way to the Marañon River. Twelve leagues before the Marañon, where the hills begin to get lower, they made contact with the Mainas Indians who were reported to be friendly (Cieza de Leon, 1923:284-287). At least one party leaving the base camp Mercadillo established with the Mainas journeyed 25 days downstream on the Marañon River, and almost certainly





made contact with the Tupian Omagua below the Napo River, and perhaps with the Ayzuare or Yurimagua groups even farther downstream. This was three years before Orellana's historic journey in 1541 down the Napo and the Amazon rivers (Varnhagen, 1840:365-269). There is no evidence that the expedition explored the Huallaga Valley in its lower reaches.

The Spanish presence continued to exert pressure on the lowland forest in the region. In 1543 there were probably permanent Spanish populations in Moyobamba across the blue range from the Huallaga River within 150 kilometers of the Cocamilla, and expeditions (entradas) were effected into the lower Mayo Valley from Moyobamba at intervals, causing populations of Indians to dislocate into the lowland forest. The Muniche and Paranapura Indians found on the Paranapura River and its tributaries a hundred years later were mostly displaced remnants of Moyobamba "long houses," and with the Chayahuita had occupied the blue range between the Paranapura and the Mayo Rivers (Figueroa, 1904: 88).

Pressure did not come solely from the Spanish. It may have seemed to the Cocamilla that there were some important changes going on when in 1549 a group of 150 fugitive



Indians, warriors and their families passed through the lower Huallaga region. These people were almost certainly Tupinambá from the Brazilian coast and they spoke a language very similar to the Cocamilla. When they reached Moyobamba they told the Spanish an incredible tale. They said they had left the Brazilian coast some ten years before with 2,000 people, including two Portuguese, perhaps deserters from the Portuguese Military (Bollaert, 1861:2-3). In the most amazing migration in Amazon history they trekked by canoe the entire length of the Amazon. They had nearly all been exterminated in a battle with an unknown group of Indians on a large lake four or five days from the river, along a canal or tributary. The tattered remnants, led by a man called Virazu, finally came to rest at Moyobamba where their tale stimulated new rumors of El Dorado and resulted a decade later in the expedition of Pedro de Ursua down the Huallaga, Marañón and Amazon rivers in search of riches (Vasquez, 1881; Bollaert, 1861). Ursua's fateful expedition in 1560 passed by the Cocamilla and was carrying some of the men of the Virazu migration as interpreters, but no mention is made of the Cocamilla (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CXXIX).

The expedition of Juan de Salinas Loyola may have explored the lower part of the Huallaga in 1557 and it is

certain that the Ucayali was traversed, probably as far as the mouth of the Aguaytia River. Salinas Loyola was the first known European to see the Cocama. Some of his men later estimated their population at 20,000 and Salinas Loyola said that their villages, "are on the banks of the river together in the manner of towns of 200 and 300 and 400 houses. They are obedient and respectful of their chiefs much more than those downstream, and in this, as in the ornament of their persons, they seem to be gentlemen"

(Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CXLIV, LXXXII). This was the first and last time the Cocama or the Cocamilla would be spoken well of; future accounts would emphasize their contrariness.

Nearly four generations of Cocamilla and Cocama grew up before the next intrusions of Spanish on the Hualla River are reported. In 1619 Diego Vaca de Vega had established a town below the narrow canyon and swift rapid called the Pongo de Manseriche (Parrot Gate in Quechua) on the Marañon River. He called it Santiago de Borja. He had been making entradas in the upper Marañon region since 1611, and, as noted above, others had been making raids on the Mainas since 1591 (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CLIV; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:32-46). The 20,000 Mainas Indians had been reduced to a few hundred individuals, and these Indians, so friendly

to Mercadillo a hundred years before, had been divided up into 24 encomiendas. The Spanish encomenderos, in the first and last attempt to physically occupy the lowland forest for many years, were spread for 40 kilometers along the Marañón. The Mainas were also forced to provide for the white-mestizo "vecinos" of Borja. In 1635 the Mainas had had enough.

They rose up and killed all the dispersed encomenderos and soldiers, and attacked Borja itself. Thirty-four people were killed in the countryside, 29 of them "of account" (i.e., Spanish; presumably the six Indians who were killed were no account). The Borjeños barricaded themselves in the church and repelled the attack (Jimenez de Espada, 1897: CLVIII; Figueroa, 1904:4; Noticias Auténticas, 1889-1892: 192). Chantre says this uprising was in 1640 but he is almost certainly in error as he is the only source to give this as the year. What is certain is that Spanish reprisals were still going on in 1640.

The Spanish reacted by sending more soldiers to recapture fugitive Mainas rebels from the lakes and forests and by sending for Jesuit priests to help pacify and to baptize the Indians. Interestingly, the Jesuits were not the first priests in Borja. As early as 1618 a Franciscan priest, Francisco Ponce de Leon, had been baptizing Mainas

Indians (Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CLVII), and Diego Vaca de Vega, a layman, had illegally baptized some thousands of Indians himself, a fact which strained relations with the Jesuits. Two priests arrived in February of 1638 after four months of travel from Quito by way of the Rio Santiago and the Pongo de Manseriche. Their names were Gaspar de Cugia and Lucas de la Cueva. Cugia stayed in Borja to minister to the local Indians, the Spanish populations, and later to open a school for Indian children. The school was a vital step in the long-range plans of the missionaries. The Indians, viewed by the missionaries as being "destitute of all culture and government" were encouraged or forced to send children to the school to be trained in Spanish arts, crafts, customs, the Quechua language, and the Catholic religion. The school was in two parts separated by sex. The most significant feature of the schools, from the point of view of this study, besides the introduction of Quechua as a lingua franca, was that when the students were sent back to their homes, they became local elites in the Indian cultures. The other Indians, says Chantre,

viewed them as men of another class. They respected them and followed them in their words and council (Chantre y Herrera, 1901: 139, translation mine).

Indian society had, in fact, begun to stratify under the influence of the missionaries and soldiers.

Lucas de la Cueva accompanied the soldiers who were looking for fugitive Mainas downstream on the Marañon, and very near the Cocamilla. When the Indians were found, the punishments were extreme. The Xéberos Indians,<sup>1</sup> who were enemies of the Mainas, turned up at the soldier's camp and volunteered to help the Spanish hunt for the Mainas. They were motivated partly by dislike of the Mainas, but the desire stemmed more from fear of the Spanish and a felt need to ally with such potentially dangerous people. A letter from Father Gueva to Cugia in April of 1638, two months after the two had arrived in Borja, is telling on this point:

[The Xéberos are in terror of the Spanish], having seen so many Indians judged, so many quartered bodies hung on the trees and gallows, so many earless, noseless ones; others torn, hands and feet cut off. Those who get off lightly are infected and skinned by whips. . . [and the Xéberos know] that they too are threatened for crimes and treason, and even Spanish deaths (Figueroa, 1904:35, translation mine).

The Cocamilla and other Indians certainly were aware of what was happening on the Marañon and lower Pastaza rivers. The Cocamilla were at peace with the Xéberos at



the time, and according to all accounts were, in the winter of 1638, terrorizing the Huallaga and Marañon rivers in the company of the Cocama, in squadrons of 40-60 canoes. In addition, Cueva's letter reports that a Cocamilla "chief" in the company of Xéberos Indians had killed two Spanish cacao gatherers before 1638 (Figueroa, 1904:41), doubtless the crime referred to in the above quote.

The Xéberos cooperated by leading Cueva to their territory, one and a half days upstream on the Aipena River, a narrow blackwater river which cuts through sandy soils of the upland forest, and 20 kilometers up a tributary stream. There they lived dispersed in small groups as far apart as 35 kilometers calculating a league at 5 kilometers and more (Figueroa, 1904:47-48). Since their sandy upland soils would support manioc but not plantains, corn, or cotton, they raised the latter products on an island of the Marañon only about 25 kilometers through the forest from their territory (Figueroa, 1904:48). Grohs (1974:42) has tentatively identified the island as Isla Baradero on modern maps. Cueva founded a mission at that location among the Xéberos, but spent little time there in the first few years. As early as 1641, he contacted the Pambadeques (the orthography is Figueroa's), a sub-group of the Cocamilla. He also



contacted the Cutinanas, apparently a sub-group of the Aguano-Chamicuro, and the Ataguates, probably speaking a language similar to the Xéberos, but it would be some years before they were missionized (Chantre & Herrera, 1901:132).

The Cocamilla were not well-known, at least to the priests, at this time (1641) except for their warlike tendencies. Cueva knew they were friendly with the Xéberos Indians, and it was through the Xéberos that he managed to contact them. It is unclear in all sources what relation the Pambadeques had with the Cocamilla. Chantre (1901:141-143) associated the two as the same group.

In 1643, after five years, the Xéberos Indians revolted and fled their new mission. Their initial enthusiasm for the presence of a priest bringing iron tools and other useful gifts had turned into a heartfelt desire to be as far away from him and the Spanish soldiers as possible. The reasons were several. The priest's baptism books frightened them. They thought he was writing names so that they could be divided up among the Spanish encomenderos, now in Borja. A Mainas Indian who knew their language told them that the Spanish were going to kill some and give some to the Ucayali Cocama who were feared by the Xéberos (Figueroa, 1904:56-57). They were tired of working on the priest's

house and the church. But a letter from Cueva to Cugia in October of 1643 indicates even deeper reason. Cueva had tried to get them to do the following things:

1. To be instructed in Catholic doctrine.
2. To attend mass on festival days.
3. To live monogamously.
4. To stop killing other Indians.
5. To stop victory dances with heads.
6. To stop eating the liver and hearts of the slain enemy.
7. To stop leaving the uplands to hunt river turtles and eggs.
8. To stop leaving the village to gather fruit in season.  
(Figueroa, 1904:62-63, translation and emphasis my own.)

In other words, he had insisted that they change their entire subsistence pattern, socio-political organization, and belief system. The effects on nutrition alone must have been profound.

Although it treats of the Xéberos, the point seems significant with regard to the Cocamilla later, because the Xéberos reduction was the Jesuits' first mission in the Marañon area among the free Indians. Thus, the technique of settling it as well as their policy came to be an ideal

model (though not always followed) for all further settlements in the region (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:215; Figueroa, 1904:54). Since more is known about its settlement than any of the other early missions, the clash between the expectations of the Jesuit priests and the expectations of the Indians has a wider significance. This being the case, it is well to examine some of Cueva's techniques in a little more detail before proceeding.

The original technique evolved by Cueva and Cugia was three pronged (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:138):

1. Gifts to persuade the Indians to form permanent settled villages.
2. Doctrinary instruction on young people, and to a lesser degree, adults.
3. When possible, the placement of Indians from already settled and Christianized groups in new villages to act as role models and examples.

Underlying the plan was the threat of military force which was brought to bear when the Indians disobeyed the priest. But in the earliest days there were few soldiers and the distances were great. The priests such as Cueva depended on the generosity of their gifts as much as the Indians' fear of the distant soldiers to keep them in line. However, the missionaries, contrary to general belief, were

not opposed to force as a means of imposing their own ideas of morality and sound social organization on the Indians. It was simply that in the first years they had not yet consolidated their position enough with the free Indians to apply force effectively (Figueroa, 1904:62). Actually they viewed the enforced secular control of Indians as a vital part of Christianizing them, in Figueroa's graphic phrase, "to make of brutes, men, and of men, Christians" (Figueroa, 1904:180). The priests, unlike the Council of the Indies, recognized the "embeddedness" in Indian social and economic life of their beliefs. While the Indians wished to become Christians only to receive axes, knives, hooks, and machetes, they wished to retain their own customs and practices as much as possible. Thus, the necessity of force to bring them to "reason" (Figueroa, 1904:180-181; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:539).

The flight of the Xéberos Indians in 1643 was touched off by the Cocamilla. By this time the Cocamilla, an expert river people, were being used as canoemen and guides for Spanish expeditions, although they had not yet been placed in a mission village (reducción). On one such expedition, a group was paddling canoes and guiding a Teniente and some troops to Moyobamba. The Cocamilla

attempted to kill the soldiers, setting the canoes free to drift off downstream, and tried to spear the troops while they slept. The soldiers had been alerted by an Indian traitor, and they foiled the attempt. The Cocamilla fled back to their village, gathered their families, and left for the Cocama heartland on the Ucayali River (Figueroa, 1904:78-79). The Xéberos, probably fearing generalized reprisal, and being thoroughly sick of the mission life, also fled. Some of them joined the Cocamilla on the Ucayali. Others soon returned to the Pueblo under the Spanish threat of hanging anyone who was caught outside the village (Figueroa, 1904:61).

The Spanish reacted quickly to the Cocamilla revolt. They dispatched the Teniente General, Padre Cugia, 25 soldiers and enough frightened Xéberos, Mainas, and Cocamillas, to fill 30 canoes, and headed for the lands of the Cocama, passing by way of the isthmus route with its two portages. They arrived at the Ucayali on May 21, 1644, and found the Cocama on the opposite shore (Figueroa, 1904:100). They dispatched interpreters, telling the Cocama that they were not there to make war. Padre Cugia then went over in a canoe and was recognized by the fugitive Cocamilla and Xéberos. They then greeted the troops with

much embracing, staining the Spanish clothes with the achiote dye on their arms and clothes (Figueroa, 1904:101).

The lieutenant in charge of the soldiers put the Xéberos and Cocamilla, led by a cacique named Manico, under arrest. Padre Cugia and the lieutenant then staged a little drama in which the priest begged for the lives of the Indians and at last the lieutenant gave in. This impressed the Indians no end with the priest's power (as it was planned to do) and this impression was heightened when the priest dressed down a pair of soldiers who were immediately arrested by the lieutenant, as the second act in the little morality play (Figueroa, 1904:70, 102). At later times it was not unusual for the priest to whip a naked soldier or two to show the Indians where the power supposedly lay.

The Cocama were perhaps even more amazed by one of the soldiers in the Borja troop who spoke and understood their language. His mother was a Xibitaona Indian, member of a group which had been granted in encomienda to the Borjeños and had taught her son to speak Xibitaona, which turned out to be very similar to Cocama. Thinking he had the soul of a recently departed cacique (recall their belief in reincarnation), the Cocama came from other villages to see him. He was offered the retainers of the



dead cacique but declined the privilege (Figueroa, 1904: 102-103).

The troop left to visit the upriver village for a few days, and then left with the captives, leaving many tools with the Cocama. The Cocama immediately began to die from various "pestes" (Figueroa, 1904:104). Chantre (1901:141) says at least half of them died soon after, and by the time they were next counted eight years later, the three villages had been reduced to one. This village was located somewhat north from the former downstream one in which only 300 indios de lanza were found with their families. A hundred families (perhaps 400 people) had gone back to the Huallaga River with the Spanish and the Cocamilla (Figueroa, 1904:109). The surviving Cocama were under fierce pressure from the Chipeco Indians. The Spanish later marveled at how delicate the Cocama and other Indians (especially the inland Indians) were. They said they had died at the sight of the Spanish soldiers, the smell of the powder, and the sound of the arcabuces firing (Figueroa, 1904:103-104, 121).

The first expedition was followed by another one sometime after the departure in 1644, but before the Cocama had suffered such disastrous population reduction. This

expedition was brought on by alleged Cocama threats to attack the Mainas and the Spanish. The Cocama reportedly offered to shave the Spanish beards by sticking tree resin to them and ripping the hair off their faces. Apparently they had not been quite as happy with their guests as Padre Cugia had implied. This time the Spanish could not persuade any Cocama to verify the rumors so they left taking the captives currently held by the Cocama from raids on other Indians (Figueroa, 1904:104).

The Cocamilla continued to live in their village near the Shishinahua River, mixed with probably 400 Cocama until September of 1649 when Bartolomé Perez was sent to put the village in order. They had been cowed by hangings (viewed as necessary by the priests to instill respect). Padre Perez laid out a plaza with a church, and straightened out the streets along the riverbank. He gave the village a Catholic name, Santa Maria de Guallaga.<sup>2</sup> According to Chantre (1901:144-145), Padre Perez founded three villages among the Cocamilla, the largest of which was Santa Maria. Figueroa, a source much closer to the scene, mentions only one, namely Santa Maria de Guallaga. The chronology of the next few years is equally in doubt. The most likely scenario is that Padre Perez worked on the Huallaga River

until 1651, when he was replaced by Raimundo de Santa Cruz who had arrived that year from Quito (Chantre y Herrera, 1901: 149; Figueroa, 1904:105). Padre Perez went to the Ucayali River the following year to work among the Cocama. He feared that their fractiousness was endangering the stability of the entire mission structure. He founded at least one mission among them, Santa Maria de Ucayale, in the three months he was there. This village was probably on a lake near the upstream mouth of the Puinahua canal (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:146; Figueroa, 1904:105). The Cocama were called Ucayales at that time, a term probably derived from the Cocama word for the long house, Uca. It was this visit by Padre Perez in 1652 in which he found the Cocama reduced in numbers to one village of perhaps 1,000-1,500 people. This seems to have been the population nadir for the Cocama, reported, as mentioned in the last chapter, as having 20,000 people in 1659.

Padre Santa Cruz, meanwhile, was having his problems with the Cocamilla. Much of what is known about them at this time comes from his stay with them beginning in 1651, and is found in Figueroa:

These Indians, although they always lived almost all together as the Spanish found them, and for this reason it would seem

that they had more government than others who live very divided and apart, have little or nothing of government . . . In helping each other in wars. . . or in defending themselves against the attempts of others, in the drinking, dances, (curative) singing, and other similar things which require the concourse of men, one may say that it was worthwhile for them to live in villages. But in other things of importance it was as if they did not live among men (Figueroa, 1904:81-83, translation mine).

Padre Santa Cruz worked with them and learned the language, according to Chantre (1901:150), helping them in their fields and giving them many tools. He counted Santa Maria de Guallaga at this time at 600 people of whom 170 were indios de lanza (Figueroa, 1904:81). Apparently most of the Cocama who came from the Ucayali River had died by this time as well as most of the Cocamilla.

Padre Santa Cruz did not like the floodplain location of the village, notwithstanding the fact that the Cocamilla way of life was intimately based on the river and lake resources and alluvial soils of the floodplain. He complained that his books and clothes were rotting from the humidity. He viewed as especially pernicious the Cocamilla habit of leaving the village for a period of time in the winter to hunt and gather inland, which they were accustomed to do when the fish were hard to catch and their lands

were flooded. Formerly many of the men had gone warring at this time of year. Santa Cruz's solution was to move the village to higher ground upstream near the present site of Santa Maria, but on the west bank of the river. This move was in 1652, a year after Santa Cruz arrived and three years after Perez had begun to live with the Cocamilla (Figueroa, 1904:81). There was apparently some resistance on the part of the Cocamilla because they recognized the inferiority of the site in ecological terms (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:151-152), but Santa Cruz prevailed. They moved and Santa Cruz, having "taught the Cocamilla to work the land, now instructed them in housebuilding, making of them peons and architects" (Figueroa, 1904:152). The new spot had the advantage, in the medieval healthlore of the Padres of "good airs."

Although Santa Cruz treated the Cocamilla to "punishment and whips" (Figueroa, 1904:82-83), they remained undisciplined. They were always poor in cooperation with building schemes, as the following quote indicates:

Although all of them would indicate their willingness to work, afterwards they would go wherever they saw fit, getting up early to leave and saying, "the ones who stay will do it." Others staying in their houses would say when called that they were lazy. In short, they are people taught not to be yoked nor

ordered, and not to be given tasks except to their liking (Figueroa, 1904:82-83, translation mine).

Padre Santa Cruz appointed regidores, alcaldes, alguaciles, and fiscales for government and had stocks built to punish malfeasors. He caused a church to be built. He introduced the custom of assigning Indians called mitayeros to bring meat to him daily. He persuaded the Cocamilla to make fields for him and to bring him offerings of food called camaricos. Some of this food was redistributed to the poor (who, of course, were only poor because of the Spanish presence). He introduced cattle and pigs (Figueroa, 1904: 84). Felipe Manico, the cacique who had led his people to the Cocama in 1643, and who was brought back ignominiously in 1644, became governor of the pueblo in accordance with Spanish policy (Figueroa, 1904:126; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:594).

The Cocamilla had made their first great adjustment to the Spanish by 1653. There is some indication that they resisted fiercely in areas such as curing beliefs, and were not afraid to tell the priest when he had gone too far in deprecating their customs (Figueroa, 1904:245-246). Even at this stage in their adjustment to Spanish culture they had closed off certain aspects of social life such



as curing from the Spanish while cooperating with them in the public sphere. This adjustment, the gradual separation of the public and private spheres of social life, was to last them a long time. One area of cooperation which seemed agreeable to the Cocamilla in these years was in making entradas (expeditions) to encourage other Indians to be racionales as they themselves were.

Santa Cruz and his Cocamilla guides and expert canoe-men missionized the Paranapura and Muniche Indians in 1652 (Figueroa, 1904:88; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:155-156). By 1653 the Cocama and Cocamilla at Santa Maria de Guallage, under a Cocama cacique, Raimundo Aconoma, had helped missionize the so-called Barbudos or Mayoruna Panoans upstream to the east of the Huallaga River, and Felip Manico and some of his followers, not to be outdone, had visited at least one village of Agvano Indians slightly downstream and across the river from Santa Maria, all without the aid of the priest or the Spanish soldiers (Figueroa, 1905:114, 124, 126-127; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:153-156, 188-189).

The new missions were named San Ignacio de Mayorunas and San Xavier de Agvanos. San Ignacio, founded in approximately 1654, was located just across the river from Santa Maria de Guallaga (Figueroa, 1904:116-117, 123). San Xavier was founded at about the same time and probably

had two annexes (Chantre says there was only one village at the time, p. 54). San Xavier was abandoned later (date unknown) and a new San Xavier de Chamicuro (a group fissioned from the Aguanos) was founded in about 1657, named so as to distinguish it from the old San Xavier. At the same time San Antonio de Abad de Aguanos became the Agvano reduction, almost certainly in the same site where the present town of Santa Cruz now sits (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:189). San Ignacio de Mayorunas still existed in 1682 but was abandoned sometime afterward, probably when there were no more Mayoruna (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:281).

In 1654 Santa Cruz took his Cocamilla and a few Xéberos Indians on a voyage to find a better route to Quito from mission headquarters in Borja. The rapids at the Pongo de Manseriche made travel upstream impossible during much of the year, and Santa Cruz was looking for the route traveled by Orellana. They found the Napo River and traveled almost to Archidona in 51 days of paddling, during which time four of the Xéberos were killed by hostile Encabellados near the mouth of the Aguarico River while asking directions. Another 14 days walk got him and 40 Cocamilla to Quito, where they made a rather grand entrance. The Cocamilla were dressed by the Jesuits in long white shirts and,

with feathered head-dresses and rosaries clanking about their necks, they paraded in the streets. Santa Cruz made a memorable speech in the cathedral in the Cocama language. The Quito "vecinos" wanted the Cocamillas as godchildren, and they learned the advantages of such fictive ties there (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:163-173).

The trip back to Borja was made in 30 days, but the Jesuits were not satisfied. The route was too long. Before he died in 1662, drowned in the Bohono River (Bobonazo on modern maps), Santa Cruz was to try twice more to find a direct route via the Pastaza River. When he drowned, he was on his way back to Borja with the news that he had indeed found the way (Chantre y Herrera, 215-216, 220-222). He died at 39 years old, an extremely brave and dedicated but emaciated and balding man with sores all over his legs who wore a ragged black robe flapping about his bare knees. He had heavily influenced the destiny of the Cocamilla (cf. Chantre y Herrera, 1901:168, for a description of Santa Cruz entering Quito).

In 1655, one hundred Cocamilla men were impressed into military service under Don Martin de la Riva Agüero in his furious and futile attempt to tame the Jívaros (Shuár) of the Santiago River, and to take over jurisdiction of the

Borja government, until then the province of a dynasty of Vacas and Vegas (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:176-180; Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:300-301, 599; Figueroa, 1904:84). They were accompanied by Santa Cruz, the Jesuit with the most experience in such matters. Riva tried to fight a conventional Spanish battle among the guerilla fighters of the Jívaro and lost. Four of Santa Cruz's men were killed. Many of the rest deserted and fled back to the Huallaga mission where they gathered their families and, as they had a decade before, fled to the Cocama (Figueroa, 1904:84).

The same year, an epidemic swept the Huallaga. The effects among the Cocamilla were terrible:

It was a horrifying thing to see the sick and the dead bodies on the beaches where in small huts they had retired, eaten by vultures and other birds, and exposed to the sweeping of the river when it rose suddenly to carry away the bones (Figueroa, 1904:85, translation mine).

This and other epidemics weakened the mission as much or more than the flight of the deserters. In 1656 Santa Cruz found time to lead the Cocamilla to found villages among the Roamainas of the Pastaza River but there could not have been many Cocamilla men left by that time (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:187).

While Padre Santa Cruz was leading his few Cocamilla and Cocama warriors on long expeditions of peace and war, the Cocama, who had only been visited sporadically in their Ucayali River territory, and who were now harboring fugitives, had received a missionary, Tomás Maxano.

Padre Maxano arrived among the Cocama on the Ucayali River in October of 1657 with a lay brother, Domingo Fernandez, and some friendly Indians to paddle their canoe. The Ucayali region was not calm. Earlier in the year the Chipeco had killed four Franciscan priests and lay brothers and at least three soldiers (Figuerola, 1904:98; Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:294). Chantre (1901:226) implies this incident happened after 1659, but he is in disagreement with the Franciscans themselves on this score. They say that two priests, three lay brothers, twelve Spanish soldiers and eight Christian Indians were killed in 1657 (Amich, 1975:49, 544).

Maxano found the Cocama living in only one village of 33 houses, twelve days upstream on the Ucayali River. There were an additional 12-14 houses scattered downstream from the village. Chipeco attacks and disease had accounted for the rest of the Cocama (Figuerola, 1904:109). The Cocama welcomed Maxano and his companion. The two spent the next

two years until 1659 with the group. Maxano seems to have been a singularly devout and inflexible man (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:173-211). After two years, the Cocama refused to obey him or to attend mass, and they continued raiding other Indians. They had made some sort of peace with the Chipeo; however, for when a group of the Chipeo came to feast on one occasion, the Cocama asked them to kill Maxano for them (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:284). Padre Figueroa thought the insolent Cocama had not been made to fear enough (Figueroa, 1904:107-108).

Finally Juan Mauricio Vaca, the Borja governor, ordered Maxano and Fernandez out of Cocama territory because he was worried for their safety. He intended to send in a punitive force, but his plans were foiled for lack of powder, and because of the epidemics then sweeping the entire region between 1656 and 1660 (Figueroa, 1904:108). In 1659 the Cocamilla from Santa Maria de Guallaga were sent to bring Maxano back to their mission (Figueroa, 1904:108-109). Chantre (1901:211-212) asserts that 100 Cocama families went with him, but Figueroa does not mention it. It seems likely that Chantre had them confused with the 100 families in 1644. If true it would have swelled the population of Santa Maria to around 600 people. It seems unlikely,



however, because Maxano was so unpopular. In two years he had only baptized 300 people, mostly children (Figueroa, 1904:108). With Padre Maxano gone and a treaty in effect with the Chipeo, the Cocama began to recreate their old raiding patterns. From the Spanish point of view they were completely out of hand. The Borja government had its own problems, and for several years the Cocama were allowed to do what they wished.

It appears that the Cocamilla could stand Padre Maxano no better than the Cocama could. When Padre Santa Cruz drowned in 1662, the Cocamilla openly rebelled against their missionary who, it is assumed, was still Padre Maxano:

Various of them spoke out openly against the village's missionary, saying that he would not let them live, that he was opposed to all of them, and that they could not tolerate him (Chantre y. Herrera, 1901:226, translation mine).

The Cocamilla, led by a man named Yaricota rose up and fled Santa Maria for the third time, this time sowing unrest in other villages in a last desperate attempt to throw off the Spanish yoke. They traveled to the Ucayali River again where they joined with the Cocama and the Chipeo (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:226; Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:294).

This was too much for Padre Maxano and the Borja government. In 1663 a force of 200 friendly (or frightened) Indians with some Spanish soldiers accompanied by Padre Maxano went after the fugitives. Lucas de la Cueva, another priest, described the armada's success two years later in a letter to Gaspar Cugia, then in Quito. The force met with a Cocama cacique named Pacaya who took them to a lagoon where Yaricota and his people were hiding. The other Cocama, some Maparina Indians, and the same Chipeco who had killed the Franciscans and soldiers six years earlier tried to deceive the Spanish long enough to kill them, burying weapons for the purpose on a beach where the whole party was to sleep. The weapons were poorly buried and the Chipecos and Cocamas paid for the mistake with their lives. Ten Cocama caciques, including two called Apity and Alolama, and four from the Chipecos, were hanged on the spot. As he died, Apity managed to rasp at Majano bitterly:

If I had killed you, you wouldn't be  
killing me now.

The beach became known as the "beach of the hanged." The Maparina Indians got off without hanging, because they said they had been forced to come. It is true that they seem

to have been dominated by the Cocama and had been living in Cocama villages at least since the 17th century. They and the rest of the Cocama and Chipeo were whipped. The Chipeos were taken to Borja to serve the Spanish. The Cocamilla were ordered back to the Guallaga, and the Cocama were ordered to join them. The force returned over the inland waterway to avoid the Ucayali mosquitos, but the water was so low that they suffered greatly before they saw Borja again (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:294-296).

The rebellion was not to be stopped so easily. The Cocama remaining must have felt that this was their last chance, and they were joined by more Cocamilla. Within a year, in 1664, the Cocama, aided by some Chipeos, attacked a mission on the Pastaza River, 15 days upstream, killing six Spanish and many Indians. On another occasion, the rebels entered the Cocamilla village, burned the houses, tore the doors off the church, and killed some of Maxano's cattle. Padre Maxano and the non-participating Cocamilla fled into the woods (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:305-306). Many Indians deserted their villages to join the rebels or to flee to the forests (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:226-227).

Chantre believes that Maxano was probably killed and the fact hidden around this time, because he is never mentioned again (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:225, 228). Figueroa himself tried to convince the Cocama by means of diplomacy on numerous occasions to settle down, but they demanded Maxano's life. On the ides of March in 1666, an armada of Cocama, Cocamilla, Chipeos, and Maparinas, led by a Huallaga River Cocama named Pacaya (perhaps the same one as in the 1663 raid) found Figueroa at the mouth of the Aipena River with his retainers. He was traveling to find Maxano who may already have been dead. The armada was also looking for Padre Maxano. Finding Padre Figueroa instead, they clubbed him and cut off his head. Some of his retainers escaped and must have told various tales about the killing. Some stories have the Indians eating his body; some have them cutting off his limbs while he miraculously continued to pray (cf. Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:297-298, 594; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:229). The man who killed him, Felix Pacaya, was apparently a Cocama who was raised among the Cocamilla in Sta. Maria, and was a fiscal of the church (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:298; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:229-230).

The armada changed its plans and decided to raid the Xéberos mission from whence Figueroa had come. Forgotten

was the former bond between the Xéberos and the Cocamilla. The Xéberos had helped in the justice on the beach of the hanged. The force killed 44 Xéberos and one Spanish, and then retired (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:298-299; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:230).

By August of 1666, the Spanish mounted an expedition of 200 Indians, 20 Spanish, and Lorenzo Lucero, a priest who was later to play an important part in Cocamilla history, and went after the rebels. It was said that the Indians had Father Figueroa's head apart from other such grisly trophies and before going on a raid would taunt it, saying, "Father Figueroa is tired of hearing confessions, and needs another companion to help him" (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:298). When the Spanish found the rebel Indians they battled and over 200 rebels were killed and/or hung, and many more were carried away to Moyobamba after being judged in Borja (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92: 595-596; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:235).

The surviving Cocama on the Ucayali remained obstinate. One can only imagine their spirit of resolve. Too many people had been killed among both the Cocama and Cocamilla by disease and war in the 22 years since the first expedition to the Ucayali. The years of exploration

with Santa Cruz kept Cocamilla men out of their fields and away from their families, and many had died in far-away places. Santa Maria de Guallaga had only 40 men, a total of 100 people left in it by 1661, and the rebellion stretched on and on (Figueroa, 1904:84-85).

Finally Lorenzo Lucero, the priest who had attended the last great battle of the rebels, gave up trying to re-establish the Cocama mission on the Ucayali. The Cocama who had moved to the Huallaga River after the 1663 defeat told him of greener pastures among the Panoans of the central Ucayali, and he traveled there between 1667 and 1669. He had some success with the Chipeos, Panos, and Gitipos (probably Shipibos, Setebos, and Conibos of today) and resolved to move as many of them as were willing to the Huallaga where they could more easily be controlled from Borja. The Chipeos and Panos, especially, must have been ready for peace, as many of them had participated in the 10 year rebellion (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:250-251).

Lucero led his charges back to the Huallaga. It seems probable that Lucero had settled some of the defeated Cocama on the large lake, 25 kilometers upstream on the Huallaga River where he was to found Lagunas, as early as 1663-1666 while he returned to the Ucayali River. By 1670



he had returned with his Panoans and formed a separate village, also on the shores of the lake. An inscription in the old baptism book read as follows:

On the 25th day of July, 1670 began the evangelical teaching of the Xitipos and Chepeos I brought from the Ucayale, whose reduction and population was completed on said day, month and year, in the shadow of the glorious apostle Sant-iago to whom is dedicated said reduction which, being on a very beautiful lagoon which drains into the Guallaga, is called Nueva Cartagena de Sant-iago. And because the Alferez Juan Davila Bejarana has been my only companion, and who has made this reduction, moved by the zeal of bringing souls to heaven, I wish to testify here to all who read this, how great a thanks is owed him (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92: 306-307, translation mine).

The note was signed by Padre Lucero on August 3, 1670, and was written in a new mission of San Lorenzo de Tibilos, about 15 kilometers inland from Lagunas, where Lucero was seeing to the settlement of a sub-group of the Aguano-Chamicuro language group.

The Cocama mission came to bear the same name as the abandoned Ucayali mission, Santa Maria de Ucayale, and the Panoan village was called Santiago de Xitipos y Chepeos. In 1682 the two were still listed as separate villages, but by 1735 they had become separate barrios in a village whose name had come to be Santiago de la

Laguna (Figueroa, 1904:294-295; Chantre y Herrera, 1901: 281). Lagunas was founded with a population of 1600 people (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:306). How many were Cocama is not known, but it seems unlikely that there would have been more than 500. The majority of the population of Lagunas by 1670 was probably Panoan.

The Cocamilla, decimated by disease and war, continued to live in Santa Maria de Guallaga without a missionary. In June of 1680, a smallpox epidemic swept the already ravaged lower Huallaga missions. The Cocama fled from Lagunas for the lower Marañon and Amazon rivers, where they found safety with the distantly related Omagua, only returning when the epidemic was over. Some hid on the Ucayali and never returned. The Panoans stayed to die and at least half of them did. By October the epidemic reached the three inland Aguano, Tibilo, and Chamicuro missions. The un-baptized Indians crowded to be baptized in the hope that the act would save them. In one 15 day period Padre Lucero baptized 600 Indians who soon died. The bells tolled constantly (Figueroa, 1904:412-418). When it was over in 1681 there were not enough Cocamilla left in Santa Maria de Guallaga to form a viable village. Some time after 1682, they were moved to Lagunas where they formed

a separate barrio (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:312).

The tragedy of contact had played its final act.

### Summary

In analyzing these first 40 years of contact from the point of view of social stratification, it is clear that Indian society in general had undergone a radical schism from which it would never recover. From this time on, there were Christian Indians and "gentiles." In Christian communities, high status went to the "ladinos" who were originally defined not racially, but as acculturated Indians (Figueroa, 1904:184). The white sector had begun to differentiate into whites and mestizos, racially defined, who lived together in their own town, Borja, and who had begun to stratify occupationally into a two-class system with whites on top. The main outlines of the four class system (whites, mestizos, Christian Indians, and gentiles) has not basically varied since that time, except that the mestizo sector has tended to blend biologically even more with the whites.

Notable is the rapidity with which the Cocamilla and Christian Cocama became "Uncle Toms" in the conquest of other Indians. This was probably due in part, as in the

case of the Xéberos Indians, to fear of the Spanish, but it must also be understood as a case in which their own attitude toward other Indians, developed over long periods of warfare in which they and the Cocama were probably the aggressors, were able to be validated by a special relationship with the Spanish in which they were exempted from tribute and encomienda labor in exchange for their services.

Politically, the first 40 years saw a power struggle develop between the Church and the Spanish colonists. The basic issue was whether the Indians would or would not serve the Spanish directly (Figueroa, 1904:184-186). For them to have done so would have meant that the Jesuit missions would have had to be dissolved. From the time of the Mainas rebellion in 1635, the encomenderos had not dared to live far from the safety of Borja, but they continued to try to bring Indians to Borja. The bureaucracy of the church spent its efforts in maintaining the Indians in their own missionary-led villages. In 1670 the Superior of missions had moved to Lagunas.

Demographically, the first 40 years were an unmitigated disaster for the Indians. Table 1 shows the estimated and verified figures for the Cocamilla, and Table 2 shows the

figures for the Cocama. Table 3 lists the major epidemics of this period and estimates their effects.

Table 5.1

## Cocamilla Population Decline 1638-1681

Year	Population Total	Indios de Lanza	Source
1638	±1000-1600	(200 I.D.L.)	Estimate
1651	600	(170 I.D.L. with some Cocama)	Figueroa, p. 81
1656	100	(40 I.D.L.)	Figueroa, pp. 84-85
1681	Too few to live apart. Perhaps 50-60	?	Noticias, p. 312

Population Nadir - 1681 in which year one in twenty were left.



Table 5.2

## Cocama Population Decline 1559-1681

Year	Total Population	Breakdown	Source
1559	20,000	-	Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CXLIV
1644	11-12,000 <sup>+</sup>	(2,000 I.D.L., 150 houses)	Figueroa, p. 109
1652	1412 <sup>++</sup>	(400 I.D.L.)	Figueroa, p. 109
1657	1840 <sup>+++</sup>	(46 houses)	Figueroa, p. 109
1681	375 <sup>+++</sup> in mission	(75 canoes in Lagunas alone)	Noticias, p. 312

Probable population nadir around 1652 when roughly one in 18 were left alive but it is difficult to be sure, because the Cocama were never counted after 1657 and there is no surety that the house size averaged even 40 per house by that time.

+ estimated by P. Cugia on first brief visit.

++ calculated at the rate of 3.53 population per adult male.

+++ calculated at the rate of 40 I.D.L. per house.

++++calculated at the rate of 5 per canoe.

Table 5.3

## Major Epidemics in Mainas Missions 1638-1681

Year	Disease	Region	Known Effects	Source
1642	Smallpox	Upper Marañon	20% of Mainas alive at that time died	Figueroa, p. 25; Noticias, pp. 197-198
1644-52	Smallpox, Colds	Ucayali	50% of Cocama alive at time died	Figueroa, pp. 81, 104 Chantre, p. 141
1656	Smallpox	Huallaga	83% of Cocamilla died	Figueroa, pp. 81, 84-85
1659-1660	Peste (?)	Huallaga	60% of all remaining Mainas Mission Indians died	Figueroa, pp. 161-162; Chantre pp. 212, 224-225
1680	Smallpox	Huallaga, Aipena	±50% of remaining Huallaga Mission Indians died	Chantre, pp. 274-277; Noticias, pp. 307-312

Note: The population data are intended as a contribution to the dialogue about aboriginal populations in lowland South America, the best summary of which is to be found in Denevan (1976:213-218). In Chapter VIII of this work will be found further information which will bear on the subject. In general, my data support Dobyns' (1966) contention that a good way of estimating aboriginal population of a given group is to determine the time of the population nadir and multiply the figure by about 20 times. This does not imply, however, that we may simply multiply the square kilometers of the Peruvian Amazon floodplain by a habitat density factor derived from the Cocama, the Omagua, or any similar group and arrive at an estimate of aboriginal population. Land surface is not the question, but rather water surface. Groups such as the Cocamilla seem to have been rather the masters of much land along the floodplain which they did not actively use. "Buffer zones" separated them from other floodplain groups on the Marañon and Pastaza rivers. The most reliable means, I believe, to estimate Amazonian populations in a general geographic sense (i.e., not tribe by tribe but by using a constant factor of habitat density) is to calculate the water surface of the active lakes and ponds of the floodplain and apply the figure of 150-200 persons per square kilometer of water surface. This figure seems in the lower Huallaga River region to be something of a constant and there is historical information in Chapter VIII of this dissertation to indicate that populations in the region are or were in long-term balance with fish populations in the lakes. The distribution of the lakes provide adequate "buffer zones" and thus the unknown political factor is eliminated.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>These are the Xéberos Indians who live south of the Marañon River and who speak a Cahuapana language. In Greenberg's classification scheme they belong to the Andean sub-family of the Andean-Equatorial language family. They should not be confused with the Jívaro [Shuár] who live north of the Marañon River and who speak a language which Greenberg classifies as a separate sub-family of the Andean-Equatorial language family (Steward and Faron, 1959:22).

<sup>2</sup>The Cocamilla were frequently referred to as Guallagas because the Mainas Indians had referred to their river as "that river down there" (Guariaa or Guariaga in the Mainas language). The Spanish sometimes called it the Guánuco River because it passed through what is now the modern town of Huánuco in its upper reaches. Sometimes they called it Rio del Maní (Peanut River), probably because people along its lower reaches raided that crop. Sometimes they called it Amapiaga in another Indian language but the meaning of the term and the reason for its application are unclear (Figuerola, 1904:78; Jimenez de Espada, 1897:CLX, CXLII).

## CHAPTER VI

### THE COCAMILLA AND COLONIAL MISSION LIFE 1680-1820

After the Cocama/Cocamilla/Chipeco rebellion ended and with the Huallaga populations decimated by the 1680 epidemics, life along the lower Huallaga valley began to acquire a degree of stability which was to last for some time. The headquarters of the Jesuit missions in Mainas had shifted to Lagunas when it was founded, for Lorenzo Lucero, the founder, was the Superior of missions at the time. Lagunas was a much more logical site than Borja for the mission Superior. It was more central to the already established missions, and much closer to the new missions which the Jesuits wished to open on the Ucayali, Napo, Tigre, Pastaza, and upper Amazon rivers.

When the Cocamilla were moved to Lagunas in 1682, the Maparinas, old confederates of the Cocama, were also moved there from their own Huallaga mission. The original arrangement in Lagunas of two separate villages changed in the next few decades. By the early part of the 18th century

there was one village with four barrios, a Cocama barrio, a Cocamilla barrio, a Chipeco barrio, and a Pano (Maparina) barrio. By 1737 the Maparinas were grouped with the Itucalles (Singacuchuscas or Arucuies), a Chambira River group with a sad history of disease and forced migration. The four barrios were arranged along the lakeshore in crescent fashion with a church, missionary house and plaza in the center (Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92:312-312, 367). The site of the village was altura and all indications are that the oldest barrio in Lagunas today is on or very near the location of the old village (cf. Condamine, 1973:1031).

Following the model set up by Viceroy Toledo for the Peruvian vice-royalty in the 16th century (Dobyns and Doughty, 1976:88-119), the Lagunas mission used Indians for local authorities while maintaining control at higher levels. The mission was nominally under the secular authority of the governor of Borja and belonged to the "Kingdom of Quito," that is the region governed by the Quito viceroy. Actually, each mission was effectively run by the missionary in charge. It was he who made the Borja governor aware of the meritorious and the cooperative Indians. It was he who influenced the naming of the alcaldes (mayors) and he who directly named the fiscales of the



church. It was he who decided punishments and rewards, and it was he, most importantly, who directed the economic life of the people (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:593-594, 597).

In theory, authority in the missions stemmed from two sources. The governor of the village, usually the leader (curaca) of the largest Indian ethnic group in the village, was directly named by the Borja governor. This was a position with life tenure, and succession was commonly along consanguineal lines. Theoretically, there should have been regidores and alguaciles as part of the cabildo (the council of political authorities) but there is no evidence that Lagunas ever had such positions (Chantre y Herrera, 1901: 594). The cabildo, whatever its composition, elected new alcaldes each January for each barrio. These men became part of the next year's cabildo. The alcaldes had to travel to Borja each year--a round trip of three weeks--for confirmation. The duties of the alcaldes were to maintain order and morality in the barrios, and to report infractions to the governor who reported in turn to the priest. The priest alone determined punishment, usually whipping or detention in small cells in the sun for periods of 24 hours to three days. Each alcalde carried a staff of office, the vara (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:594, 597-601).

The priest had his own men, the fiscales, directly named by him on the same day the cabildo named the alcaldes in early January. The naming was done in the church in front of the whole village, and it was the function of the priest to hand the new fiscales their varas. At the same time he would name junior fiscales, called fiscalillos, whose main duty was to inform on the fiscales. Fiscales were named from each ethnic group and there were probably seven of them in Lagunas in total. The duties of the fiscales were both civil and religious. The chief fiscal was the liaison with the priest. He appointed one fiscal each week as bell-ringer and a few fiscalillos to bring water for the priest. The other fiscales kept track of the sick, the women giving birth, and the needy. They acted as auditors of the functions of the alcaldes, and they were audited in turn by the fiscalillos. Marital discord, for example, the province of the alcaldes, was frequently reported to the priest by the fiscales. Through them the priest made certain that the civil government of the village did not stray from his control to that of the governor.

The support of the priest was mainly through charges for services to the Indians although the viceroy had

granted the missions 400 pesos per year in 1656. Marriage and funerals were commonly paid for. It was customary to plant fields for the priest, the proceeds of which were partly redistributed. Easter offerings of baskets of food (the camarico) and end of year food offerings were common. Sometimes the offerings were demanded twice a year (the chaupiguata or half-year in Quechua). Certain duties toward the priest were owed by children attending catechism. Confessed sinners also owed duties to the priest. Some of these duties included hunting meat and such hunters were called mitayeros. The offerings were frequently paid in white wax, the currency of the time, to be used for candles (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:200).

In addition to these obligations, the Indians were called on to gather white wax, resins, vanilla, and other forest products to send twice a year to Quito. These products were exchanged for flour and wine for the church, clothes for the priest, and iron tools. Commercial expeditions were also sent regularly to Lamas and to Moyobamba to obtain fish poison, sugar, and cotton cloth (tocuyo, lienzo, lona) for clothing and for mosquito nets for the Indians (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:616, 618).

An indication of the sorts of goods which formed the bulk of the exchange comes from a report of a Lagunas disaster in 1749. The church and missionary house burned down, as well as the entire Pano barrio. The following items were lost:

1. Six arrobas of white wax
2. 900 varas of lona
3. Tobacco
4. Tools.

The mission records were also lost, and the Panos were very angry at the priest, who had started the fire testing rockets for a fiesta (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:408-409).

Probably the most serious disruption to the normal economic life of the Indians was the entradas and expeditions which they were frequently asked to make. As long as these were carried on during the flood season, their old patterns were not too upset, but there was no guarantee that the timing would be so well-tuned to their own patterns. They also had to supply these expeditions as the following quote indicates:

The governor or his ministers were denied nothing, the Indians furnishing canoes or releasing supplies according to what was required. They would leave with gusto with their arms at the voice the king. . .leaving

to the charity of the missionaries their families, and exposing themselves generously to the dangers of losing their health and their lives with the work which was given to them on the journey of serving as oarsmen in the canoe which carried no other sailors than they; serving also as soldiers, fishermen, and hunters. All of this the Indians did in the expeditions to which they were called, be it punishing rebel peoples, discovering gentiles, making peace with some barbarians . . . employing at times three, four, and more months in which time some die with the weight of so much fatigue (Chantre y Herrera, 1901: 587, translation mine).

Under Jerónimo Vaca who took over the Borja government in 1677, an Indian militia was formed in each mission. All able-bodied men from 18 to 50 were required to serve, and in Lagunas each barrio had its own little army for the entradas mentioned above. Moreover each group used its own weapons, the Cocama and Cocamilla using the spear thrower and war club (macana) (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:606).

In addition, male labor was used for village maintenance and building canoes for public use. Women kept the plaza clean and sanded it regularly with white sand to keep the grass down. Indian men were sent to the salt deposits near the pongo de Aguirre, a week upstream, from July to October to mine salt for the missions.

It should be emphasized that from the time the Cocamilla were transferred to Lagunas in 1682 until the expulsion of the Jesuits in April of 1768, they were not part of any encomienda. Nor were they put directly to daily work for any Spanish colonists except on expeditions, some of which were of a commercial nature. Unlike many other Indians, especially the downriver Tupian groups of Brazil and the Mainas Indians of Peru, they avoided a period of slavery in this important part of their history. Neither did they pay tribute directly to the king. In fact, the entire Mainas mission area was exempt from tribute for four main reasons:

1. The distance to the highlands was great; products would have to have been of great value to be worth shipping.
2. The lands were poor and it was judged that the lowland tropical forest had nothing which was worth the cost of transporting.
3. The Indians were already in the service of the church.
4. The Indians served the Spanish with their militia (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:627).

The laws required that the Cocamilla and other Indians be paid for their service. It is not known whether they were actually paid for militia expeditions but it is probable that they were paid for commercial trade as gatherers



or as canoemen. Chantre reports a wage of approximately 2.4 reales per day for canoemen but it is extremely doubtful that they were paid in cash. It took three days to collect an arroba of cacao worth eight reales. It took about the same amount of time to collect a pound of white wax, also worth about eight reales. The price of a hatchet was three pounds of wax or ten days work. A greedy governor doubled the prices in 1758 (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:504, 628-629).

The economy of the Cocamilla was thus quickly transformed from a simple economy of reciprocity in Polanyi's terms (1958:243-270) to an economy which, by the end of the Jesuit period, had acquired characteristics of both redistributive and market economies with use of currency. The purely reciprocal economy probably held for a time in intra-village relations among the Indians. The flow of products to the priest and the subsequent redistribution of part of them was grafted loosely on the basic reciprocity. By far the most pervasive and insidious influence on the Indians was the introduction of the exchange of labor and products for tools, sugar, salt, and cloth. The direct contact with European markets and wage labor had profound consequences for the future. Appetites thus whetted could

never be assuaged. As long as wages remained low and Europeans determined the prices for the goods the Indians wished to buy, they could always be gotten into debt easily. Until the Jesuits were expelled, however, the Cocamilla were partly protected from the logical consequences of their own appetites. The Jesuits controlled the demand and supply for reasons which were partly moral and partly bureaucratic.

In addition to the economic changes and the changes in socio-political organization mentioned previously, the Jesuits also provided the Cocamilla with a set of rituals which lasted over three centuries. The most important celebrations mentioned in the literature were Corpus Cristi and Semana Santa, although the celebration of special saint's days, All Saints, Christmas, New Year, and Carnaval all date from the Jesuit period. Corpus Cristi included the custom of castillos, constructions to which were appended fruits and food and sometimes live animals. During a parade around the village, the contents of the castillos were gathered up by the fiscales and given out (Chantre y Herrera, 660-552). It seems likely that the roots of the modern custom of the húmisha, a pole decorated with trinkets which is felled and the trinkets distributed on certain ritual occasions, is found here.

The celebration of Semana Santa included a parade of the penitents in which men would march for two nights lashing themselves with whips and thongs tipped with balls of rubber into which shards of glass were embedded. This self-flagellation would often wound them seriously and the priests had sometimes to restrain overzealous penitents. This custom spread very rapidly. Its spread probably represents the coincidence of a native Tupian custom of self-scarification and the asceticism and self-mortification of which the Jesuits were fond (Noticias Auténticas, 1887-92: 594; Chantre y Herrera, 1901:665-667; Edmunson, 1922:61).

The years from 1682 until the end of the Jesuit period were marked by a determined thrust by the Portuguese colonists on the lower Amazon into the Spanish territory in the lowland tropics of what is now Peru. The Indians on the lower river were enslaved and they died even more rapidly than their counterparts in the Mainas missions. Slaving expeditions advanced farther and farther up the river each year and groups such as the Omagua, Yurimagua, Aysuare, and Ibanoma Indians were either carried away in chains or retreated step by step upriver. Some of the Yurimagua and Aysuare Indians were settled for a time in 1709 in the old mission site of the Cocamilla, but they sickened and died

quickly and the mission was abandoned by the survivors. Fifty families of Yurimagua were returned in December of 1712 by Padre José Ximénes who settled them at the mouth of the Paranapura River where the modern city of Yurimaguas still lies. The mission was given the name of the old Yurimagua mission on the Amazon River, Nuestra Señora de las Nieves de Yurimaguas, and the old 17th century Muniche Indian mission founded by Santa Cruz, as well as a new mission for Lamista Indians a short distance away, became annexes. In 1715 Yurimaguas had just over 300 people (Edmunson, 1922: 121-122, 126, 128, 139).

The Omagua, fragmented by slavers and disease were finally settled in their present site at San Joaquin on the extreme upper Amazon, near the mouth of the Ucayali River in 1726. By 1731 they were mixed with over eleven other Indian groups and the population of San Joaquin was 522 (Edmunson, 1922:238, 139-142). This extraordinary mixing of Indian groups was brought about by the cycle of entrada, missionization, and the subsequent death by disease of forest Indians during this period. The bureaucratic maintenance of the missions demanded that established missions be full. To achieve fullness, entradas were intensified. The policy of founding isolated missions was changed to one

of bringing newly pacified Indians to already established missions. More entradas meant more Indians were brought in without resistance to diseases and more deaths. The cycle might have ended when all the Indians were dead, but fortunately the Jesuits were expelled before this logical outcome could be achieved. The Indians not on major rivers withdrew into their former territories and thus retained many customs. The river Indians who had passed their population nadir early, such as the Cocama and Cocamilla, were the lucky ones. For the Omagua, the combination of slave raids and a relatively late population nadir (c. 1710), in addition to the extreme cultural mixing mentioned above, meant their effective destruction as a culture (Chantre & Herrera, 1901:609-611, 580-581, 501-503; Noticias Auténticas, 1889-92: 519-520).

Legunas continued to suffer epidemics. In 1695 there was another outbreak of smallpox. This time the priest (Gaspar Vidal) did not permit the Cocama and Cocamilla to disperse. Many died as a consequence (Jouanen, 1943(2): 387). In 1750 the Huallaga was swept by a new disease, measles. Smallpox hit again in 1757-1758, and again in 1761-1762. It appears that natural antibodies had become weakened in two generations. Grohs (974-50) has assembled

part of the data (Table 6.1) for Lagunas' population during the Jesuit period.

The 1762 smallpox epidemic was the worst in intensity. Two hundred Cocamilla and Panos died in Lagunas. Half of the Yurimaguas died. Two hundred Cocama again fled Lagunas for San Joaquin de Omagua where they were directed to the lower Ucayali for six months quarantine. Some, under Andrés Pacaya wanted to stay and populate the lower Tapiche River along with the Cocama who had never been missionized and who had participated in Figueroa's murder nearly a century before. Eventually, some were persuaded to return to Lagunas (Uriarte, 1952:264-266) but others never returned.

It was during the 1761-62 epidemic that the documentary history of the lower Huallaga begins to connect with the oral history of the Cocamilla. The community in this study, Achual Tipishca, was said by the oldest residents to have been founded by people fleeing from the Marañon River to escape smallpox at about this time. Possibly they were Borjeños, for the names of three of the families were Salinas, and it is known that many Borjeños fled downstream at this time. It is certain that during this epidemic or just after the 1758 one, the mission called San Antonio de Aguanos was abandoned and the remaining Aguanos were taken



Table 6.1  
Population of Lagunas from 1670 to 1768

Year	Population	Note
1670	1,600	(Cocama, Xitipo, Chipeco)
?	4,000	(According to Chantre, year unspecified but "soon after founding." Questionable figure.)
1727	850	
1732	c.1,000	
1735	c.1,000	
1737	1,062-1,072	
1740	1,000+	
1743	1,000	
c.1745	1,109	
c.1768	1,600	(According to Uriarte: Index to Vol. 2)

to Lagunas. The Tibilo mission was merged with the Chamicuro mission which had 1,000 people at the time of the Jesuit expulsion. Chamicuro largely escaped the effects of the epidemic because of a form of vaccination with pustule material carried out by Padre Esquini 26 years before Jenner developed a vaccine (Uriarte, 1952: 264-266, Index).

### The Departure of the Jesuits

The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768 came as no surprise. The Portuguese had suppressed them nearly ten years before the Spanish got around to it. However, the vacuum created by their departure was never filled by the Franciscan and secular priests who followed them. The notice came in September of 1767 and the last priests left in April of 1768. Thirty secular clerics in Jesuit robes arrived from Quito for the transition, but at least ten of them went straight back to Quito. They lacked the "vocation" of the Jesuits. At least one of the broke into tears when he realized he was to live and work in San Joaquin, the ends of the earth (Chantre & Herrera, 1901:670-676; Izaguirre, 1923-26(8):48).

The Indians knew better than anyone that expulsion meant that the Jesuit political buffer was lost to them:

Nearly all the new reductions were extinguished. The Indians, oppressed by the authorities and the traders, abandoned civil life and returned to their old customs, or, made desperate by the oppression, various villages rebelled and gave death to their oppressors (Compte, 1885:253).

Quito Franciscans quickly followed the seculars but many of them soon deserted the missions. Lagunas and Chamicuro were left without a priest until 1772 (Compte, 1885:258-261). Francisco Requena had this to say in 1779:

Many deserted. Some stayed voluntarily in villages they liked, and others traveled about the province at their discretion, vagrants (Compte, 1885:263).

Crown officials were no less worried than the Indians at the decay of Mainas missions. To keep the Portuguese at bay, various decrees were promulgated. In 1771 the post of Vicar of Missions was created in Lagunas. The missions were supposed to have the regimen of the Uruguay and Paraná missions. In 1774 the Quito-based Franciscans were withdrawn and secular clerics moved in again (Pardo y Barreda, 1905:111-113; Cornejo, 1905:XXVII; Compte, 1885:264). Franciscans from Santa Rosa de Ocopa reported in a letter to King Charles III in 1781 that the Portuguese

had actually taken over Lamas in 1777, traveling up the Huallaga to do so. This was not the only time they had advanced so far. The suggestion was made that "adequate" boats should be placed on the rivers to protect national territory, to re-conquer the Indians, and to re-introduce religion and social life (Izaguirre, 1923-29(6):24, 26; Ugarte, 1970:105-170).

Some of the Cocamilla in Lagunas began to hide along isolated lakes and streams at this time. It seems probable that any of the Chipeco or Xitipo Indians left alive by 1761-62 epidemics also dispersed. The Chipeco-Xitipo barrio is never again mentioned. The Agunaos and Chamicuros brought from San Antonio and San Xavier began to form the fourth barrio. The population in Lagunas had dropped from 1600 in 1768 to 1149 in 1769 (Jouanen, 1943(2):536). However, by 1790 Lagunas was back to 1402 (Izaguirre, 1923-29(7):345-346).

#### Military Rule in Mainas

In 1777 Francisco Requena was sent to Mainas as governor and chief of a military force to be stationed at Tefé in what is now Brazil. This force was to prevent further Portuguese upriver expansion. The Indians of

Mainas, now directly dominated by white-mestizo governors had to pay the burden of supporting the troops. Manuel Sobreviela, the Franciscan guardian of the Ocopa College, traveled to the Mainas missions after Requena reinstated the Franciscans in 1790. He found the Indians in Yurimaguas under armed guard to prevent them from fleeing. The town had dwindled to 123 people. All of the Huallaga Indians were being placed at the service of traders in the salt fish, salt extraction, and cacao extraction businesses. The secular priests had the Indians out gathering wax. In Xéberos, the Indians were producing hats and clothing. Among other things they were making a blanket for the King. In Lagunas, the lieutenant governor, Juan Salinas, was interested in trade and new routes for shipping products out. He had spent ten years in getting Indians to work and was ready to make money now that he had a population who were almost slaves (Izaguirre, 1923-29(7):232-236).

The Cocamilla were forbidden to leave Lagunas and were furnishing weekly mitayeros (Indians who hunted meat) to the governor and to the secular priest. The men were building large boats for Requena's defense plans. The principal occupation of the Cocamilla, however, was to make fields of bitter manioc, a crop introduced to the

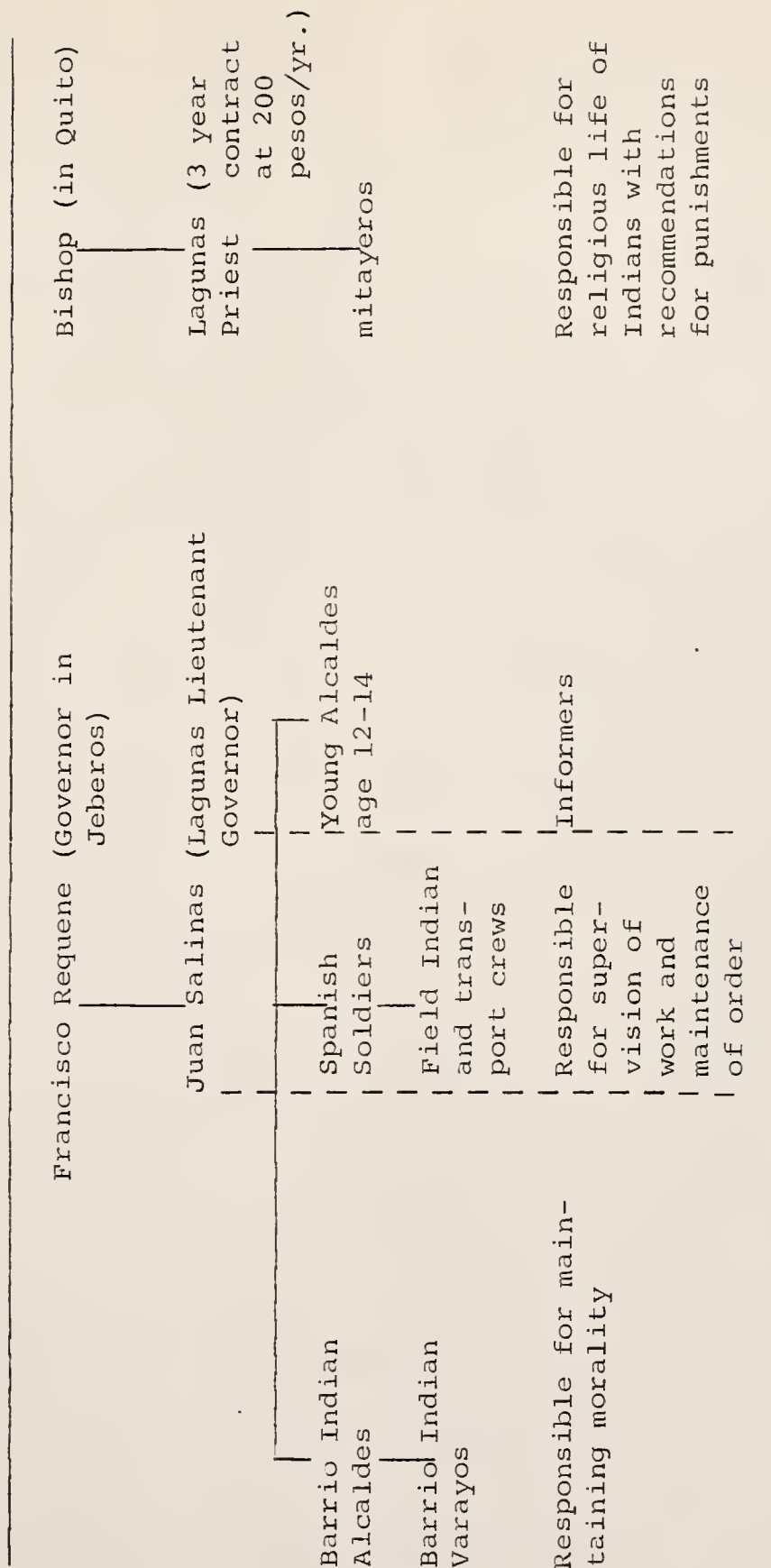
missions by Requena, from which the women made farina (manioc flour) to feed the Tefé troops (Izaguirre, 1923-29(7): 237-238). The wages for canoe work had dropped to 12 reales per month in tools and clothes (Izaguirre, 1923-29(7):243). The price for farina was supposed to be five reales for 60 pounds; about four days of work, not counting planting and cultivating, was involved in producing this amount.

The political system of Lagunas had changed radically. Lagunas still had four barrios, now Cocama, Cocamilla, Pano, and Aguano-Chamicuro, but the governor was now Spanish. Effective control had passed from the priest to the Spanish governor backed up by soldiers who now lived in the village (Table 6.2).

A letter from Requena to Sobreviela in 1792 indicates some of the current practice. Requena thought that whipping with manatee leather whips was damaging to the health and too sexually titillating when the culprit's pants and shirt were removed. He preferred palm whips and prison which the Cocamilla hated worse than whipping. The Cocamilla sleeping arrangement in which whole families lay on wooden platforms under a common mosquito net, a custom practiced since before the conquest, was immoral in his eyes. "What excesses might not be committed when the husband was out



Table 6.2  
Lagunas Political Organization 1790



of town and the wife was sleeping with her adult sons," he protested. He wanted the nuclear family isolated in a separate house (he did not succeed in this). He wanted the Lagunas Indians to stop painting their bodies with huito (genipa) dye. The Cocamilla women were to stop wearing the pampanilla skirt and to wrap their bodies modestly. He wanted the Indians taught Spanish, holding Quechua to be too foreign. Even better, he thought, would be bilingual schools (Izaguirre, 1923-29(8):16-38).

Requena's recommendations to the King in another letter were to have far-reaching consequences. He thought that the general command of Mainas and other lowland mission areas, then under the control of Quito, should be under the control of the viceroy of Peru for easier defense (Izaguirre, 1923-29(8):43-48). In the ecclesiastic sphere, Requena wanted the Ocopan Franciscans to be given the missions. The clerics from Quito, he said, "didn't even know how to say mass." They had abandoned the smaller towns and concentrated in the larger ones. The total number of Indians in the missions had consequently dwindled from 15,000 in 1768 (Chantre y Herrers, 1901:580) to 9,000 in 1790 (Izaguirre, 1923-29(8):64). Requena wanted an episcopal seat to be created for Mainas to include Lamas and Moyobamba

as well as the lowland tropical forest (Izaguirre, 1923-29 (8):43-64).

In 1802 the Crown gave the Lima viceroy Mainas and Quijos, including the entire Morona, Huallaga, Pastaza, Ucayali, Napo, Yavari, Putumayo, Japura, and other lesser rivers. The college of Santa Rosa de Ocopa in the highlands was given the ecclesiastical responsibility for the entire area, including the supervision of all the secular priests. Four thousand pesos per year was assigned them to run it. No Ocopans could be found, however, who wished to accept the new Bishop's mitre. After two Ocopans refused the post, Fr. Hipolito Rangel, a Franciscan but not an Ocopan, was named Bishop of Mainas in 1805. He made the town of Xéberos his headquarters. The Ocopans eventually controlled only the central Huallaga and the new conversions of the Ucayali River. They clashed with Bishop Rangel repeatedly over jurisdiction (Izaguirre, 1923-29(8):76-96; Ugarte, 1970:138-139).

The Cocamilla, thus rudely brought into the 19th century saw white-mestizo control concentrating and becoming more and more coercive. Much of the time Lagunas lacked priests, for Bishop Rangel was never able to exert effective control over his far-flung domain. Relations between the

Aguano-Chamicuro barrio and the Cocamilla barrio became worse and worse in the early part of the 19th century until, in 1819 (Maw, 1973:228 says 1813, but a copy of the act of foundation exists in Lagunas), the Aguanos and Chamicuros were permitted to leave Lagunas and resettle on the site of the old mission of San Antonio de Aguanos. The resettlement was called Santa Cruz del Huallaga in official documents but persists as San Antonio de Abad de Santa Cruz in baptism records until late in the 19th century (Maw, 1973:232; Lagunas Parish Archives). The Cocamilla called it simply "Aguano."

In 1820 Bishop Rangel denounced the treatment of the Indians under the long-term military regime introduced by Requena. In a letter to the archbishop Las Heras, he said the following:

[There are] immense expenses to maintain the lazy and the libertines, perdition of the Indians, with scandals which they have not yet seen; intolerable punishments to reduce them to the barbarous or capricious system of the governors. . . .In a word, so much bad as can be imagined has produced the Tefé expedition. At its finish, without having achieved its ends in 20 years, the men are now found here vegetating (Ugarte, 1970:142, translation mine).

This situation of oppression under a direct military presence was ended by the War of Independence. Moyobamba

declared its independence in August of 1821. The lowland tropical forest towns and villages remained royalist for a time but the issue was decided not by soldiers, but by the flight of royalist officials to Pebas on the Brazilian border. Bishop Rangel left late in 1821, saying that there was no longer any government in Mainas nor any troops. They had all been called away to fight in more profitable zones. Mainas and Quijos were combined and made into a department of the new republic in 1822 (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(1):18; (8):16-17). Independence was a great victory for the new Peruvian republic but its ultimate consequences for the lowland Indians, especially the Christian Indians, were sombre.

### Summary

This chapter in Cocamilla history from post-contact settlement in Lagunas to their incorporation in the new republic was a time of gradual tightening of control of all Christian Indians. Most of the non-Christian Indians who survived the Jesuit period retreated to remote areas. Many formerly Christian Indians also fled and renounced Christianity. The white-mestizo sectors of lowland society became more differentiated as entrepreneurs, traders,

political officials, religious officials, soldiers, and (in the border areas such as Borja) land-holders, multiplied and created more and more economic niches, the exploitation of which needed Indian labor.

Again it should be stressed that during this period there was no direct occupation of Indian lands or waters in most of the lowland forest areas of Peru. The Christian Indian economy had to adjust to increased demands for support of troops and officials, and they were forced or induced to provide labor for the still-nascent extractive industries. Some were put to work producing crafts, but only the Indians under the direct control of the governor general in Jeberos.

The Cocamilla found their niche as rivermen for export and import operations, exploration, and as fishermen for the white-mestizo sectors. They were less willing to be forest and field workers as the next chapter will show. Their own subsistence economy and many of their cultural arrangements were affected but not destroyed by the increased demands placed on them. Forest Indians who were Christianized and brought to the rivers were not so fortunate. Those who survived became culturally more and more like the river Indians, to the point that they disappeared as ethnic groups. In the lower Huallaga region, only the Xéberos and the Chamicuro, left in their pre-conquest inland locations, survived the period.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE COCAMILLA AND THE REPUBLIC: IDEAL AND REALITY

The independence of Peru meant very different things to the Cocamilla and to the new Peruvians. Filled with democratic sentiments, the new government published a series of laws and decrees which purported to make the Indians of the lowland tropics full citizens. All Mainas inhabitants were freed of contributions in 1827. In 1828 Indians and mestizos were declared owners of lands which they possessed with "full dominion over the lands which they presently occupy," as long as no competing claims existed. Landless Indians in the highlands (there were probably few in the lowlands) were to be given land, and if literate, they could sell it. In 1830 the forced work of Indians was prohibited by prefectural decree. In 1842 the law forbade "contributions" by Indians in Mainas. In 1846 personal service and gratuities given by Indians to the few priests in Mainas was forbidden. In 1845 President Ramon Castilla declared the entire montaña, including the lowlands, free of taxes and spoke out about the need to



"protect the civilization of the Savages." Forced labor was again prohibited in 1850. Tribute payments (the diezmo) were forbidden in 1854 again (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(1):228, 229-230, 242, 242; (5):6-7; (8):490; (9):277, 278-280, 282, 392).

### The Native Response to Independence

The law is one thing. Compliance is quite another. To the Cocamilla, and to all other lowland Indians, the first thirty years after independence meant that troops which had been plentiful in Mainas were now gone. A political and economic vacuum ensued. The near monopoly held by the Spanish governors over Indian labor was shattered as merchants from the more developed Brazilian Amazon region required more workers and canoemen. Gold-seekers on independent expeditions invaded the Morona and Pastaza Rivers. Independent extractors began to mobilize large work forces by 1840.

The Indian response to the relaxation of military pressure was the same as their response to the vacuum following the Jesuit expulsion, rebellion and dispersal. The first uprising began in 1830 among Aguaruna Indians in the Borja region, the most developed region of the lowland

tropical forest. By 1832 the towns of Andoas and Pinches on the Pastaza River were threatened by Indians (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09 (1):233; (5):138; (6):500-505; (7):7-18; (9):282-296, 307, 310, 315-322, 357, 407-408, 500-505; Herndon, 1853:221; Lagunas Parish Archives, Peña 1863). Many of these areas were not pacified again until the 20th century.

The response to independence in Lagunas among Christian Indians was a small-scale rebellion and dispersal. Hostilities between ethnic groups dissolved the formerly enforced bond which held the disparate barrios of Lagunas together. The ~~Panoans~~ dispersed to the Ucayali and to remote parts of the hinterland and renounced Christianity. Many of the Cocama left Lagunas in 1829 under Manuel Pacaye. This group fissioned and formed the towns of Nauta and Parinari on the lower Marañon River. The stimulus for this move was probably connected both to an epidemic and a local rebellion. Either in 1829 or in 1832, the Cocamilla and Cocama attacked some soldiers under a lieutenant Ulloa who had offended them. They wounded one soldier. The Aguanos and Chamicuros had left in 1819 to re-establish San Antonio de Abad, now called Santa Cruz (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09 (5):99-100; (6)328-330; Lagunas Parish Archives, copy of 1819 document; Maw, 1973:233-234).

By 1830 Lagunas was largely a Cocamilla town. The demographic effects of Independence are suggested by comparing some censuses of the time. Lagunas shrank rapidly, and smaller towns held their own or grew (see Table 7.1).

Economically, the effect of Independence on the Cocamilla was that they were somewhat more free to choose the ways in which they were exploited, as they were also more free for a time to move about physically. The district governors had only Christian tradition, trade goods, and the verbal threat of force to keep them in line until the middle of the century. An entire generation of Cocamilla grew up after independence which knew a lifestyle more free of direct military restrictions than any generation since 1650. The Cocamilla continued to be canoemen, guides, and guards over other Indians on expeditions seeking gold or other commercial ventures. They provided food from the rivers for extractive operations in the Huallaga Valley.

Culturally, their temporary freedom was reflected in independent behavior. They submitted but they were touchy. Manuel Ijurra, a commercial extractor of forest products, who put hundreds of Huallaga Indians to work as peons between 1841 and 1845 and who used Cocamilla as guards

Table 7.1

Populations in the Lower Huallaga Region 1790-1864<sup>+</sup>

Year	Lagunas	Santa Cruz	Chamicuro	Yurimaguas	Source
1790	1402	--	391	123	Izaguirre, 1923-29(7): 345 346
1814	1115	--	122	515	Larrabure y Correa, 1905- 09(6):180-181
1824	1245	--	?	311	Larrabure (14):252- 255
1827	"a few hundred"	150-300	?	275	Maw, 1973:233; Yurimaguas baptism records
1847	596	320	246	240	Larrabure (6):185
1864	283	277	317	296	Lagunas Parish Archive, Ecclesiastical Census

\*The 1847 census and the 1864 census are unimpeachable and the original data still exist in Lagunas for the 1864 census. Other census material conflicts with this data but the estimates almost certainly include Lagunas and small towns in Lagunas' jurisdiction, not simply the town of Lagunas (Cf. Herndon, 1853:176; Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(6):195). The assumption that conflicting census data include district population indicates that there was little net loss of population. By 1864 Actual Tipishca with population of 309, a small Cocamilla town before, was the largest town on the lower Huallaga River.



and hunters, called them "arrogant, impudent, and bellicose (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(6):319). They had to be treated with "delicacy." In 1844, they threatened the life of a Lagunas priest when he tried to whip one of his mitayeros. Ijurra said they "felt themselves superior to the other Indians" (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(6):320). The Cocama who had participated in the Lagunas uprising were called "insubordinate" by an official of the time, and the Cocamilla were worse, "incorrigible in their ferocity" (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(6):272-273).

Freedom for the main part of the Cocamilla was only a token and only temporary. Objectively they were caught up by an ever-diversifying national and international economy. As "pacified" Christian Indians, their place in the economy was at the bottom as basic producers and wage workers. As riverine Indians there was no place to run. Demands on them came from four basic sources in the 19th century. There were (1) the governors and other political authorities, (2) the extractors of forest and river products who were also merchants, (3) the church, (4) the lowland hacienda patrons after 1853.

Competition for Indian Labor

Demands by the governors never stopped but they became for a time less able to enforce them as competition multiplied. In 1827, the Lagunas Cocamilla were dominated by Fortunalto Sumalta, the Lagunas governor. He had them producing wax, salt fish, and turtles, which he exchanged in Moyobamba for tocuyo cloth. They also produced manatee oil and zarzaparilla which he sent downstream to Brazil to be traded for knives, hooks, machetes, adzes, beads, and imported cloth for his own clothes (Maw, 1973:232-234). Sometime before 1842, the governors imposed the remesa, tribute at frequent intervals, consisting of demands for each Cocamilla male to present 20 piezas (pieces) of salt fish or meat to the governor. They were required to supply their own salt, fish poison, and dart poison for blowguns (they had by this time adopted the blowgun as well as the bow and arrow from their former Lagunas neighbors). Frequent "contributions" of one-and-a-half arrobas (20 kilograms) of manioc flour were demanded. These products were sold by the governor and the profits were shared with the prefecture (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(6):334-335).

After the introduction of regular steamship travel in the upper Amazon region in 1851, the governors were in

charge of providing wood for the boats to burn. They sometimes paid Indians 8-10 pesos per 1000 pounds for the wood which they resold at 14 pesos. Sometimes they paid nothing (Larrabure & Correa, 1905-9(7):316-317). Despite government prohibitions on forced labor, Indians were carried away to the highlands to work on roads in Chachapoyas in 1853, and in 1866 the government used forced labor of Cocamas in dock construction in Iquitos (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(9):505, 513-514, (14):135-136). Herndon, in 1853, said the following:

I do not wonder at the indifference of the people to attempt to better their condition. The power of the governor to take them from their labor and send them on journeys of week's duration with any passing merchant or traveler, would have this effect. At this time they have furnished canoes and rowers for the priest, and a Señor Santa Maria, bound up the river; and for the governor and us, bound down; which has taken thirty-eight men out of a population of ninety. (The whole population of the town and neighborhood, reckoning women and children, is three hundred.) (Herndon, 1853:153)

The temporary extractors and the merchants used Indians for harvesting forest and river products and for canoemen and boatmen. The Cocamilla, however, never fond of field work destroyed the zarzaparilla plants, "with the object of not seeing themselves obligated to return to collect

them" (Maw, 1973:232-233). Increasing trade with the more developed lower Amazon began to attract Indians, especially Cocama and Cocamilla, out of the country for long periods of time. Many never returned. Some of the merchants stayed and married Cocamilla women. Their children acculturated to the Cocamilla completely and soon became Cocamilla (Lagunas Parish Archives, 1864 Ecclesiastical Census).

Demands by the Church could not have been too heavy overall, since there were never more than seven priests in all of the lowland Mainas missions during the entire 19th and early 20th centuries. In towns such as Lagunas, Santa Cruz, and Chamicuros, however, the demands amounted to a considerable nuisance for the Indians, since there were resident priests in these towns much of the time. Despite bans on charging the Indians, the priests continued charging 3-4 pounds of white wax (about 10-12 days work) for marriages, a chicken or 4-5 eggs for baptism, a basket of manioc (35 kilograms), a stalk of plantains, and a chicken for pre-marital confession, and a chicken for burial. Festival mayordomos (two for each festival) gave two pounds of wax, and their five assistants gave a pound each, besides the food supplied for village consumption. The priest was given a stalk of plantains, a basket of manioc, a chicken,

and a ball of thread (which was, along with wax and tocuyo cloth, the local currency). Each priest had two fiscales at his beck and call, and two sacristans and a treasurer for each chapel, all to serve him. He had two cooks, a boy who ran errands (called a pongo) and two hunters (mitaveros) who served a week at a time. Semaneros were appointed for a month at a time and brought jerked meat weekly to the priest (Lagunas Parish Archives, Papers of Zacharias Peña).

Rates vary according to racial and corresponding economic status. In 1877 Zacharias Peña, the vicar of missions in Lagunas, advised one of his priests to charge the whites 18 pesos for marriage, the mixtos 13 pesos 4 reales, and the Indians 6 pesos 6 reales. One-half was to go for the church and one-half to the priest (Lagunas Parish Archive, Papers of Zacharias Peña; Herndon, 1853:168-169).

Competition for Indian labor between political authorities, merchants, travelers, and priests resulted in many of the laws and decrees mentioned earlier in this chapter. The authorities usually cooperated with commercial interests since profits accrued to them as well as to the businessmen, and to some degree the two sectors merged. The church, however, was repeatedly denied the right to parasitize the Indian economy. A letter from an Iquitos



official to Zacharias Peña, the Vicar of Mainas Missions in 1860 is worth quoting in full on this point:

If the superior orders of the prefecture are published it is in order that they may be given due compliance, not to make note of them. From the moment the supreme government gives salaries to the curates of the litoral, it is to correspond to their work and to free the less fortunate classes from the forced obligation of pongos, mitayos, semaneros, fiscales, and other services with which they are oppressed, just as they are also freed of all payments for marriage, baptism, and burial for which they may be demanded nothing. And it is very strange that you, Mr. Curate, who ought to give an example of subordination to the laws, oppose yourself openly to the superior dispositions (Lagunas Parish Archives, papers of Zacharias Peña, 1860, translation mine).

The Mainas priests, for their part, pointed out on numerous occasions that their salaries never arrived. In any case, as Peña said in 1864, "The political authority wishes to inject itself in matters wholly outside temporal control" (Lagunas Parish Archives, papers of Zacharias Peña, 1964).

#### Haciendas Appear on the Lower Huallaga

All of the economic forces impelling the history of the tropical forest lowlands in the 19th century found their ultimate expression in the institution of the lowlands hacienda. In 1853 the Province of Loreto had been



created and by 1857 Moyobamba was the capital. By 1866 Loreto was made a department and Lagunas was placed in Alto Amazonas Province with Balsapuerta the Capital. Steamboat navigation to Yurimaguas encouraged trade along the Huallaga River. Eighteen fifty-three marked the year in which large-scale colonization schemes for the lowlands began. At first they had little effect on the lower Huallaga Valley, but eventually whites and mestizos began to settle in small numbers. Herndon found no haciendas on the lower Huallaga in 1853 below Yurimaguas. By 1864 five steamships were in operation on the Huallaga River and there were 16 settlements below Yurimaguas with a total population of 2500 people. At least four of these were new haciendas (Lagunas Parish Archives, 1864 Ecclesiastical Census). In 1869, Raimondi found Yurimaguas transformed. There were wood fueling stations at Santa Cruz and Lagunas, and the governors were "tyrants" (Raimondi in Larrabure y Correa, 1905-1909(7): 316-317). By 1878 there were 22 settlements below Yurimaguas and six of them were classified as haciendas (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(7):381-383). The Huallaga Valley above the Pongo de Aguirre and the Mayo Valley between Moyobamba and Tarapoto developed even more rapidly. By 1853 Tarapoto had 3500 people and the district population numbered 6000 (Herndon, 1853:160).

It is difficult to imagine a more appropriate institutional response than the lowlands hacienda to the weak, fluctuating, and export-dependent markets of the 19th century lowland tropics. The lowlands hacienda was a highly diversified industrial, commercial, extractive economic institution with an agrarian subsistence base. White-mestizos settled near resident native populations. In Lagunas, the whites set up a separate village a kilometer from the Cocamilla barrio and called it Pueblo Nuevo (New Town). In Chamicuro, and Santa Cruz they lived in the native communities. Achual Tipishca, by 1864, the most important Cocamilla town, resisted efforts to dominate it directly, and remained socially if not economically independent. The hacienda planted fields for basic subsistence food. Indians worked the fields sometimes without pay, and even school children were forced to work in the fields of the patron (Lagunas Parish Archive, Papers of Zacharias Peña, 1863). Indians were dispatched into the inland areas to gather Copal, Copaiba (resins), zarzaparilla, and elastic gums for sale. At first the Cocamilla were mainly used to produce river products, salt fish, and manatee oil for export. The haciendas all grew some sugar cane and distilled the juice to produce aguardiente (raw cane liquor).

The Jesuits had introduced it and had made it part of the religious festivities. Now it was used as a means of social control, a created dependency. It was not exported from the lower Huallaga (Lagunas Parish Archive, Papers of Zacharias Peña, 1863).

The patrons<sup>1</sup> bought goods to sell to the Indians with the products of Indian labor. The Indians remained in debt. The haciendas also made contracts with the governors to supply wood, then contracted independent villages to cut it. A favorite device of the time was to sell bronze bells to villages like Achual Tipishca. The Jesuits had introduced them and they had become extremely important for village identity, and even as prime symbols of ethnic identity. Each barrio in Lagunas, for example, had its bells and each bell had a known history. Thus, it was that the following document was made by Zacharias Peña in 1871:

In the village of Achual Tipishca on the 19th day of December 1871 before the undersigned Justice of the Peace and the witness to the action, Dr. D. Zacharias Peña, D. Juan Rengifo [from a hacienda at Sta. Cruz] and D. Pedro Ortiz [from a hacienda at Chamicuros], both proponents for the sale of two bells to the cited village, appeared the justices in the name of the residents, and they were told that D. Juan Rengifo offered two bells weighing 93 pounds for the value of 270 rajas of wood placed in the fields of Santa Maria [his hacienda] by each one of the residents

which ascends to 70. And D. Pedro Ortiz offers two bells weighing 80 pounds for the value of 300 rajas of wood which each one of the same residents must place in the fields of Santa Lucia [his hacienda]. . .etc. (Lagunas Parish Archives, Papers of Zacharias Peña, 1871, translation mine).

The pace of the mid-century export economy of Loreto down the Amazon is shown by Table 7.2. The zarzaparilla trade was never important in terms of money. Other exports included cotton and tobacco. The table shows clearly the fluctuating nature of the export economy which made the industrial-agrarian-extractive-commercial hacienda adaptive.

Loreto became at this time, incredibly enough, a food importer. Potatoes and onions were imported from Portugal. Rice, beans, coffee, cacao, and rum were imported from Brazil. The price structure indicates a problem which was and is chronic with the extractive economy which takes men out of food production. An arroba of imported potatoes or onions cost three to four soles. An arroba of rubber also cost three to four soles. The work of producing the rubber took one man 30 days at wages of one real per day (Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(16):129-130). If the rubber collector had to buy imported food with his wages, he would starve to death. Many did precisely that when the extractive economy reached its insane fever pitch during the

Table 7.2

Exports of Some Lowland Products from Loreto 1862-1870

Year	Rubber kg.	Zarzaparilla kg.	Salt Fish kg.	Note
1862	2,088	4,793	1,459	Brazil blocked the mouth of the Amazon
1863	4,889	7,073	36,445	
1864	1,736	2,255	34,937	
1865	1,381	305	37,632	
1866	11,847	1,137	56,631	Peruvian Amazon opened to all countries
1867	8,441	9,403	13,059	
1868	3,699	8,225	38,542	
1869	24,353	9,746	56,948	
1870	58,584	6,532	67,049	

(Source: Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(16):125-127).

height of the rubber boom from 1887 to 1910. With prevailing wages, even if they were paid, the Indians had to depend on food and clothing supplements from the patrons at prices determined by the patrons. The alternative option, to reject wage work, was not permitted them.

The commercial trade which the hacienda patron carried with "his" Indians in terms of wages and prices is interesting. The Cocamilla worked about three-and-a-half days to produce a pound of white bee's wax which was harvested from the setico tree. A pound of wax bought, in 1853, four varas of tocuyo cloth. A machete cost three varas of tocuyo in Chasuta or the equivalent of 2.6 days work. This was a great improvement over the six to nine days work required in 1768 for the same purchase. However, the price for machetes never dropped below the 1853 level even after the introduction of steamships, although at times prices greatly exceeded this limit. The Cocamilla today still work about 2.6 days for a machete, and less acculturated Indians pay much more (price sources from Chantre y Herrera, 1901:504, 628-628; Maw, 1973:231; Herndon, 1853:166-167; Lagunas Parish Archive Peña, 1863).

Each hacienda patron was the exclusive source of commercial goods to "his" Indians. There were agreements



between them to the effect that they would not sell to another's Indians. Even today the folk definition of slavery in the region is "the inability to buy from whom one chooses." In the lower Huallaga River valley, the white-mestizo society was and is tightly knit by kinship, making economic collusion easy. Church records of the time show marriage after marriage in the white-mestizo sector annulled because the kinship relationship between spouses was too close according to Catholic canonic law (Lagunas Parish Archives).

### The Rubber Boom

The rubber boom put a strain on the cozy nature of the relationships among members of the white-mestizo sector. Competition for Indian workers became much sharper and roving gangs of thugs carried Indians away by force in many areas. The abuses of this period on the Putumayo River are well-known (Cf. Singleton-Gates, 1959) and it seems unnecessary to concentrate on them here. On the lower Huallaga River the rubber boom marked the effective end of the Chamicuro and the Aguano. A German immigrant named Belisario Patow was able to dominate the old mission of Chamicuro and he insisted that the remaining Chamicuro (pop. 275 in 1876) move to the Huallaga where he had founded

a hacienda in about 1885. He decided to take the Chamicuro men to work far away on the Yavari River where there was good rubber. Accordingly, he built rafts to float them away. The last thing the Chamicuro women heard was the sound of the men singing as they set out and were lost to sight around a bend of the river. Only one came back. The rest died on the Yavari. The women and children were left on Belisario's hacienda and became his property. After he died they became the property of his son, Rodolfo. Rodolfo fathered many children by the Chamicuro women and was said in his maturity to have been so mean that he bathed in his aguardiente before selling it to the Indians, saying, "These people can drink my sweat."

Wherever there were found defenseless Indians they were removed. In 1903, the governor of Chayahuita on the Parana-pura River complained that the religious festivals had nearly disappeared in the community beginning in 1888 due to the "continuous and inhuman persecution that the rubber exploiters visit on the residents, to the extreme that the few who are left are forced to abandon the village, separating themselves great distances in order not to be found" (Archives of Yurimaguas Sub-Prefecture). By 1903, the entire province of Alto Amazonas including Lagunas, Santa

Cruz, Yurimaguas, Jeberos, Cahuapanas, and Balsapuerto district had only 4020 people, only one-half of its 1876 population (Archives of Yurimaguas Sub-Prefecture, 1903; Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(6):214).

The Cocamilla were not so easily dominated. At one time ten men from Achual Tipishca contracted to go to Manaus to work in exchange for a large bronze bell which the community still has in its possession. They were gone for five years. Achual Tipishca, as the largest independent Cocamilla community, was a constant temptation to the rubber gatherers. A story passed on by the Cocamilla from the turn of the century goes as follows:

One time some rubber gatherers from Manaus came to Pampa Hermosa with the aim of carrying away people. They came bringing all kinds of articles to give as advances to the people who would go. Belisario Patow, the owner of Pampa Hermosa brought them to Tipishca after he had already taken away the Chamicuro. The Cocamilla were having a fiesta at the time and one of the old men said, "Brothers, I had a bad dream. I dreamed that I raised (as a child) a manatee. Something could happen to us." At this he grabbed his carbine and, loading it, put it in the rafter of his house. The fiesta went on, everyone drinking their fermented banana drink. In a few minutes the caucheros, led by Mr. Patow, arrived with some of the peons, Chamicuros. The Cocamilla were surprised to see the whites, or Wiracochas as they were called. The whites ordered them all into their houses. Then they arrived at the house where the fiesta was. One of the

old men responded in his dialect, "We are the owners of these houses and you cannot order us around in this manner." At this, Patow, the patron of the Chamicuros who knew very well the speech of the Cocamilla, told the caucheros what had been said. "They say no one can order them around because they are in their houses." Hearing this, the caucheros were infuriated and as they were armed with carbines they shot an old man, wounding him. The Cocamilla spokesman immediately grabbed his carbine and shot the cauchero. At this the Cocamilla dispersed themselves in the forests, leaving their houses and everything behind. Taking advantage of this, Mr. Patow and his companions entered the church, taking the treasure (some gold, silver, and copper coins) and the act of foundation of the village which was guarded there. This is how Tipishca lost title to the land (Verbatim transcription of tape in field notes, translation mine).

The renewed climate of violence in this period even extended to the church. In 1901 Abraham Bernuy, the Lagunas priest, beat a Cocamilla man to death in the Parish House, lashing him to a post to do so. The act was committed because the man had two women and Bernuy wanted him to marry the one with a child. At the same time he mutilated one of the women. He then refused to bury the man in the churchyard and took the dead man's son into the convent to prevent him from testifying, threatening him with the same fate as his father (Archives of the Yurimaguas Sub-Prefecture, 1901).

Arahuante, Lagunas, and Achual Tipishca remained the centers of Cocamilla population which maintained the cycle of traditional Catholic religious festivals introduced by the Jesuits. The continued observance of these festivals must have been a powerful force maintaining the cohesion of the ethnic group, for their celebration had long before come to express cultural themes particular to the Cocamilla. Cooperation between men and women were represented, for example, by the joint cutting of the húmisha at pre-lenten carnaval (see p. 116). A subsequent tug-of-war which the women always lost seemed to reflect the relative political and economic power of the sexes. The ritual bath of all participants afterward symbolically joined the sexes. Cocamilla beliefs about the dangers of contact with the dead were acted out in the placement of stations for protective prayer at the points of a procession closest to the cemetery. The native sacristans were prime instruments of the syncretization, for villages like Tipishca were rarely visited by priests, and the sacristans early came to be surrogate priests.

By the time the rubber boom ended, the Cocamilla were becoming fragmented socially despite the integrative effects of the religious cycle. Each native community of Cocamilla



had slightly different relations with patrons. The old Cocamilla barrio in Lagunas had become somewhat distinct socially, and the oldest Cocamilla today remember that there was hostility between the people of the Lagunas barrio and Tipishca. The Cocamilla of Arahuate had become peons of the Montero hacienda. Only Tipishca remained undominated, but many Tipishca men worked as peons in other places.

Most of the Cocamilla remained peons even after the rubber boom. While the market for caucho (*castilloa ulei*) collapsed, there was still some money to be made in other gums and resins. Many of the older people today spent time in their youth gathering jebe (*hevea brasiliensis*) inland from Santa Cruz, balata (*manikara balata*, *manikara bidentata*, *mimusops bidentata*) in Jeberos, and Leche Caspi (*galactondendron utilisimun* or *couma macrocarpa*) inland from Tipishca. The haciendas scaled down their extractive activities and began to raise cash crops, especially rice and beans. Sugar cane for liquor continued to be raised. Cattle raising was increasingly important in some communities. Although many of the Cocamilla had become field peons, their most important economic function in the larger society was still as suppliers of fish and other river animals to the swelling white-mestizo populations in Lagunas, Santa Cruz, and



Yurimaguas (Espinosa, 1935:103; San Roman, 1975:169-176), many of them working for patrons in these activities.

The relaxation of pressure on the "indigens" reported by San Roman (1975:130, 176) after the rubber boom did not extend to the Cocamilla peons. On the contrary, new oppressive decrees were promulgated to prevent their dispersal, such as obligatory military service and forced road and trail work in 1913. A letter received in Lagunas from the Comisaría del Alto Marañon required the following measure:

1. All patrons sending commissions of peons must send papers with them; otherwise they will be suspected of fleeing their work and will be arrested.
2. All patrons were authorized to arrest peons traveling without papers.
3. All patrons must comply or they will be punished. (Source, Lagunas Municipal Archives, 1913)

Schools began to be introduced to the smaller towns by 1926. Achual Tipishca received its first resident priest in that year and he began a parochial school with instruction in the Spanish language. A few men understood Spanish, and most spoke Quechua, the lingua franca of trade and river travel, as well as their own language. The priest, father Julio, a Passionist, found many Cocamilla customs repugnant. The careful attempts by the Jesuits to instill a religious orthodoxy had been erased by the century and a half since

their expulsion. Customs such as the cult of the Maicucos, masked dancers who were representations of devils or demons, thinly veiled versions of colonial Spanish soldiers, offended him. Some of the maicucos were adorned with enormous red penises grafted onto the costume. He found the penitents gruesome. He soon went back to Spain (Lagunas Parish Archive; Corera, 1943: Appendix 1).

In 1935, Lucas Espinosa wrote the only monograph ever published on the Cocamilla. Despite 300 years of contact, they had managed to preserve an incredible amount of their cultural particularity. The Cocama language was still used by everyone. Shamanism was strong. The Curaca was still the most respected authority. The blowgun and bow and arrow were still in use. Most of their old crafts were still being practiced, although graphic designs had undergone an evolution to European styles. The division of labor in subsistence activities among the free Cocamilla had not changed since Jesuit times. Family life based on the subsistence patterns had not changed. Achual Tipishca, Arahuate, and Lagunas' old Cocamilla barrio were the main concentrations of Cocamilla families, although Cocamilla men could be found working in many of the towns along the Marañon River (Espinosa, 1935).

The Cocama were more dispersed. Some had been carried to the mouth of the Nanay River during the rubber boom. Both Nauta and Parinari (see p. 130) had been taken over by white patrons soon after their founding and the men spent much of their time away. The Cocama were widely scattered over the major river valleys in small colonies wherever there was work. They appeared to have been even more dominated and fragmented than the Cocamilla were by their 19th century patrons (Espinosa, 1935:130).

The riverine Indians witnessed a continuation of the slow process of colonization as ex-caucheros looked for a new life along the great rivers. These former masters were now downwardly mobile socially, and they resented it fiercely. The old colonial term cholo with its association of half-breed became common all over Loreto at this time as the newly poor ribereños tried to differentiate themselves from the poor but pacified and Christian Indians. Indio was still in vogue for the more isolated natives.

#### The Barbasco Years

The placing of schools did not stop. By 1935 all of the major Cocamilla communities had public schools. The children were forbidden to speak Cocama and were publicly

punished and humiliated if they did. The most severe blow to Cocamilla independence, however, came with the beginnings of the barbasco boom during World War II. The native fish poison had been found to make an effective insecticide and possibilities were sensed for its use as a weapon of chemical warfare. The war also created a greater need for natural rubbers. With such markets, Achual Tipishca, the last independent Cocamilla community could no longer be permitted the luxury of isolation. The Lagunas Cocamilla barrio, while not actually occupied by white-mestizos, was completely dominated. Between 1940 and 1954 the population of Lagunas swelled from 2822 to 4500 (one source says 5300), due to the strong immigration of "gente blanca" who came for the barbasco. They took over the commerce completely, excluding the Cocamilla (Lagunas Parish Archive, Papers of José Manuel Iriondo, 1954; Lagunas Parish Census, 1951-52). Arahuate was a hacienda. Tipishca was not only a fertile source of peons but it had a school as well. The patrons moved in and competed with the Santa Cruz patrons for Indians.

Barbasco fields of up to 100 hectares in size were cleared from the forests. The labor involved in their clearing and maintenance was incredible. The patrons

divided the work force by agreements as in the rubber boom. As in the rubber boom forced work became the mode. Santa Cruz was the residence of many barbasco patrons. Boats with Guardia Civil (the national police) aboard would pull into Tipishca and load up all of the men a given patron would identify as "his." The women and children were left to fend for themselves. On wages of three to ten soles per day the men could not buy them the food they needed. Their plantain and manioc fields grew rank with weeds and grass.

The most damaging blow to Achual Tipishca, the last independent Cocamilla community in Peru, was that the community authority structure was completely undermined by the white-mestizo takeover. Since before independence the community had had a Cocamilla curaca with alcaldes, capitanes, and varayos under him. He responded to the white-mestizo lieutenant governor but the effective social control of the village was in his hands. He resolved disputes, administered discipline, and kept communal work projects operating. The curaca was always a mature man and the position lasted until death.

With the inflow of white-mestizo patrons the position of the curaca was abolished. For a time the position was called capitan del pueblo. The work of running the day to day

affairs of the village fell to the position of agente municipal in accord with Peruvian municipal law, a position created after the rubber boom. All other positions were "illegal." From 1945 until 1954 the post of agente municipal was held by a white-mestizo patron. For a few years the capitan del pueblo continued to function as an authority figure, but gradually the post merged with the varayos and all disputes were taken by official orders to the teniente gobernador, a post which had existed since the creation of districts in the 19th century and a post normally held by a white-mestizo. Thus the traditional chain of command through Cocamilla authorities was bypassed and the moral structure of the community was dealt a serious blow.

The patrons made the Cocamilla toe the line. Everyone now remembers how the village "progressed." The streets and plaza were purged of grass and white sand glittered in front of the houses. The patrons imported cattle and let them run loose defecating in the village to the Cocamilla's intense disgust. The Cocamilla in Tipishca, from 1940 on, became the first generation in post independence Peru to grow up with white-mestizo dominated schools, white-mestizo authorities in the community, and white-mestizo role models of all ages. They were the first



generation forbidden to speak their native language in school, and they were reminded constantly in subtle and not-so-subtle ways that they were barely civilized brutish cholos fit only to be peons.

The rapid influx of population to Tipishca made the village swell to over 1000 people by 1955. Fishing began to deteriorate soon after 1945 as more and more people exploited the lake. Fortunately for the Cocamilla, in the early 1960s the price for barbasco fell almost overnight and the patrons began to desert the village for larger towns where there were economic niches which did not involve living like rustics. By 1967 only one patron was left, and the village went through an incredibly tortuous process to get him and his cattle removed from the village. By this time there were many Cocamilla who were literate and they took an active hand in fomenting his legal removal. Eventually they prevailed and the cattle were removed. The community continued to dwindle in size until it reached the 1864 size of just over 300 people sometime in 1975. The fishing improved (See Table 7.3).

With the barbasco price collapse, another economic depression ensued. The haciendas all along the lower Huallaga had been withering since the rubber depression.

Table 7.3

Tipishca Populations as Shown in Various Censuses

Year of Census	Population	Type of Census	Note
1864	309	Ecclesiastical	-----
1876	372	National	Larrabure y Correa, 1905-09(6):211-212
1940	688	National	Tipishca is found in Santa Cruz Dis- trict (Censo Na- cional, 1940(9):82)
1961	416	National	Tipishca is found in Lagunas District (Censo Nacional, 1961(3):307)
1972	435	National	(Censo Nacional, 1972, Dept. of Loreto, V. 2:543)
1976	304	My Own	-----

their owners left with only agriculture and cattle to support them. Cotton and jebe had no value by mid-century. With the collapse of barbasco prices, prices for rice, beans, and corn fell to five or six soles per arroba (11.5 kilograms). The owners of the haciendas, the hacendados, by this time the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the originals, were reduced to a living standard which did not meet their expectations of the "decorous life." Their own children were being educated in large cities. The land was abandoned when the old men died and an era was ended. The 1968 agrarian reform merely legalized the absorption of the hacienda lands as state property; the fundamental economic change had already taken place.

### Recent Times

The Cocamilla had not long to wait for new patrons. Despite the ups and downs in their immediate economic and social environment caused by competition for their labor among members of the white-mestizo sectors and the consequent expulsions, conflicts, and revolutions of their historical past, the general evolution of their relationship to the dominant society is clear. They were first dominated as a complete tribe by the Church and State

together. When the Jesuits were expelled, the domination became finer-grained, and individual communities were dominated by the State, Church, and rising commercial interests. With independence and the rise of the hacienda they were further fragmented and dominated in nuclei of patronage which separated them into groups of less than community size. The Church was gradually excluded. With the collapse of the hacienda and patron system (a process still on-going), the next logical step in their fragmentation had to be their domination as individuals in an ever finer-grained multiplicity of variable economic niches. This logical step was aided by the 1968 military takeover of the state and the creation of the agrarian bank. Soon after, massive oil exploration efforts began which took many Cocamilla men out of food production and river resource exploitation, and turned them temporarily into industrial wage workers. Catholic nuns in Lagunas report widespread misery among Cocamilla families at this time due to abandonment and the failure of the male workers to provide for families left alone. Much of the cash income was spent in the consumption of alcohol and other luxuries.

To summarize, the major changes in the social stratification of the Huallaga region during the post-independence

period include the creation of a highly-capitalized banking and commercial elite by the rubber boom. This sector was sustained by subsequent development. A second change was the creation for a period of about 100 years of a rural hacienda elite which gradually diversified to create the motorized boat trading sector and some of the wealthier buyers and sellers of agricultural and industrial goods in the port towns today (the richer rematistas). Indian society changed with the rubber boom as many formerly non-Christian Indians were forcibly brought into close relations with patrons. Thus "civilized" they were brought into the orbit of modern Catholic and Protestant missionaries. With white-mestizo downward mobility and riverbank colonization, the Christian and patron-dominated Indians became known as cholos and the gulf between such "civilized" Indians and other Indian widened. The Cocamilla and Cocama, as well as all other dominated Indians, were fragmented by the new patrons. It was no longer possible to think of the Cocamilla and many other Indian groups as tribes or even as unified ethnic groups since individual patron-dominated communities acculturated at varying paces determined by the degree of direct domination and insertion into the regional class system. An important variable was certainly the

degree to which individual native communities were physically occupied by the patrons. The Lagunas Cocamilla barrio, for example, was dominated but not occupied and had a more active ritual cycle than the outlying communities since Lagunas had resident priests. It has preserved its "ethnicity" in terms of language, custom, and self ascription more than any other Cocamilla community. This is true even though by most judgements it might be said to be more "in contact" with white-mestizo sectors than other more rural communities. After Achual Tipishca was physically occupied, the pace of culture change accelerated notably until the patrons left.

The situation of the Cocamilla today is one of a series of communities which range from urban satellites in which the Cocamilla generally fill the niche of suppliers of fish and other river products to white-mestizo urban dwellers to rural communities which provide their own subsistence and are heavily involved in markets and in debt to the banks. The Lagunas barrio occupies a unique position and has economic characteristics of both rural communities and urban satellites. The satellites, other than the Lagunas barrio can no longer be considered native communities since the residents come from many different places and they are



not strongly tied by kinship. Nevertheless these communities, by virtue of the endogamy created by ethnic boundaries, may in the future again become native communities.

The major rural Cocamilla communities today, as in the past, are the Lagunas barrio central, Arahuate, and Achual Tipishca. Among the three they account for over 2000 of the Cocamilla. The numbers of Cocamilla in the satellite port barrios of Lagunas, Yurimaguas, and Iquitos is difficult to estimate, but cannot be less than an additional 2000. Scattered in a dozen largely Cocamilla towns on the lower Huallaga River and the lower Marañon River are an additional 1000-2000 Cocamilla. The most important of these towns are Bello Horizonte, Yahuar Huaca, Atahualpa, Tamarate, and Yonan on the Huallaga River, and Concordia and Shapajilla on the Marañon River. Recently, Cocamilla have migrated into the rivers north of the Marañon River, especially the lower Nucuray River and the quebrada of Urituyacu. This migration puts pressure on the natives who formerly occupied these lands, and they are presently in retreat little by little.

The Cocama remain more scattered and diffused into the rural white-mestizo populations. A number of Cocama communities exist on the lower Ucayali River especially along

the upper reaches of the Puinahua Canal (Stocks, 1977) and Nauta, Parinari, Concordia, and all points downstream to the Napo have high percentages of Cocama surnames.

## Note

<sup>1</sup>The hacienda owners became patrons of many of the Cocamilla at this time. The relationship is known as the patron-client relation and is distinguished by asymmetrical, dominant-subordinate social relationship. Many of the Cocamilla were linked to their patrons by ties of ritual co-parenthood (compadrazgo). Ideally the patron is obligated by the unwritten terms of the relationship to provide credit to the client, to buy the products or employ the labor of the client, and to protect his clients from other patrons. The client has the obligation to work off the debt and to buy from the patron. The client must pay particular attention to placating the patron and avoiding the appearance of being "uppity."

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE RURAL COCAMILLA ECONOMY TODAY: CLASHES WITH THE STATE

This chapter will focus on the major problems a rural Cocamilla native community at the level of certain features of the substantive economy faces in its dealings with the state society of Peru. The substantive economy includes the production, distribution, and consumption of the material means of existence. The features of the economy which are most salient for this discussion are their subsistence agriculture, hunting, fishing, and gathering, their cash cropping and marketing, and their subsequent purchase and consumption of goods acquired from the outside society. The community discussed in this chapter is Achual Tipishca, sometimes referred to as Tipishca. The native Tipishca resident is called a Tipishquino(a).

As the preceding chapter demonstrates, it is no longer possible to speak of a Cocamilla economy since historical domination and fragmentation have meant that as part of the Peruvian class structure each Cocamilla native community has somewhat distinctive relations with the national economic

system. The situation of the community of Achual Tipishca may be taken to be representative of most rural Cocamilla and Cocama communities, and is probably typical (although no data presently exists to support such a statement) of most independent rural native enclaves of unassimilated Indians. Throughout this chapter it is important to keep in mind that the Tipishquinos and the white-mestizo immigrant settlers form two strata of the rural class structure with the Tipishquino on the bottom.

As the description of the Tipishca substantive economy develops, the interests of focusing on problems will lead naturally to discussion of the interface between national and local economies. Specifically with regard to the subsistence economy, the major problems lie with white-mestizo colonization, the ministry of fishing, and the peculiar policies of the agrarian bank. In cash-cropping and marketing, the major problems lie with discrimination, the agrarian bank, and white-mestizo domination of transportation. In purchase, distribution, and consumption of products, the major problem is inflated prices, a consequence of white-mestizo domination of the marketing infrastructures as well as a function of distance and time.

### Agriculture and Land Use

Achual Tipishca is a community of just over 300 people (see Appendix II for population characteristics) on the shores of an oxbow lake in the floodplain of the Huallaga River. The community lies on the edge of the floodplain; the land inland is mostly altura and not flooded by the annual rise and fall of the river. Map 3.1 showed the resource area of the community. The section shown as agricultural land has about 50% usability, the remainder being poorly drained.

Tipishquinos formerly used the floodplain for raising plantains and bananas and the upland plain for manioc and fish poison. Excessively high flooding in recent years, due to massive destruction of the forests along the central Huallaga River and consequent increased runoff, have changed this pattern. Another factor in the change is that the floodplain soils are the best for their major cash crop, jute (malva urena), and the crop must be raised near water for its processing. Thus, the bottomlands are now mainly devoted to this crop with far-reaching consequences. The change from food to fibre crops in the arable bottomlands of the floodplain is still in process as Table 8.1 shows. The total number of hectares devoted to jute increased by



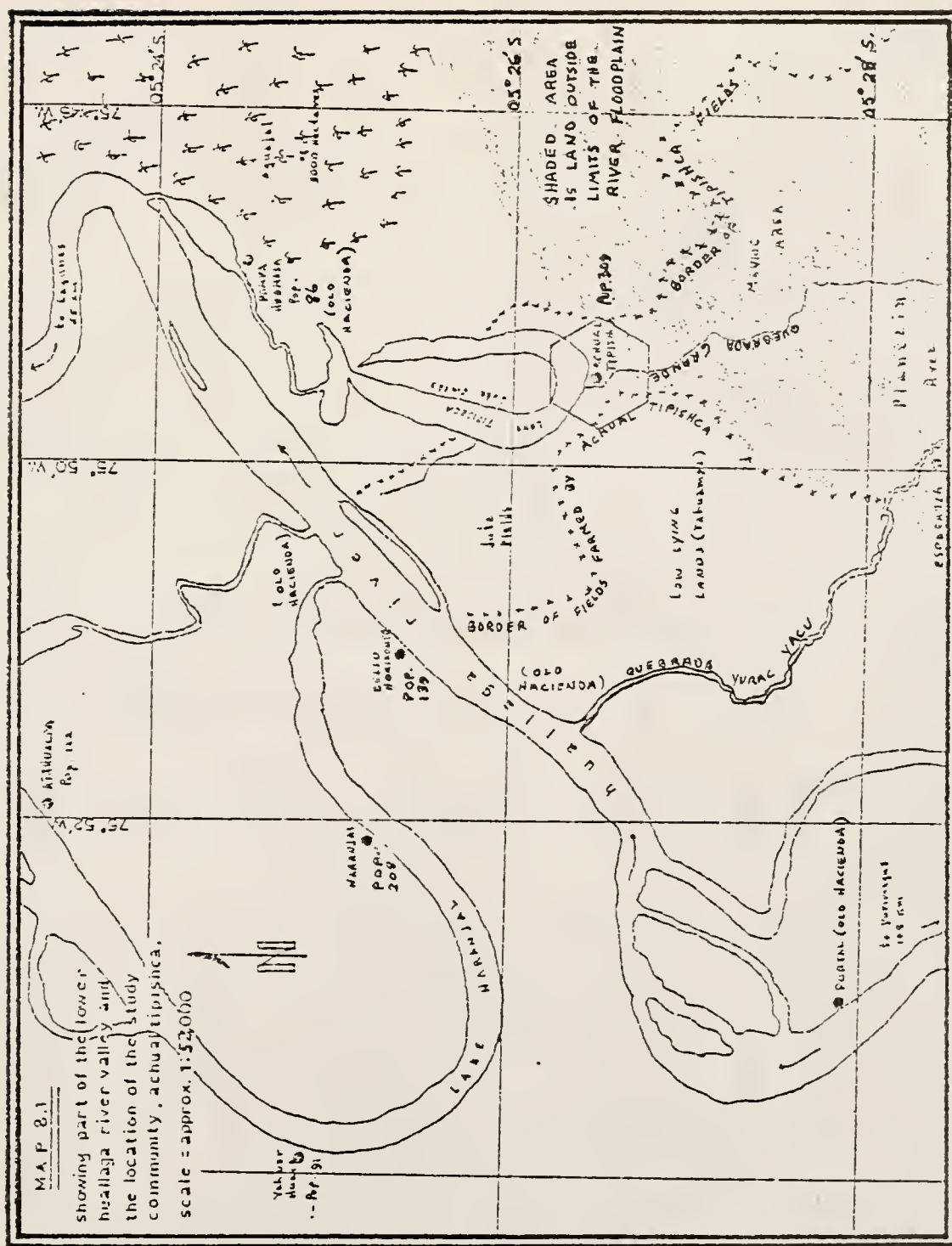


Table 8.1  
Land Use in Actual Tipishca in 1976 and 1977

	In Hectares					Total
	Floodplain	Inland in	Inland in	Banks of Huallaga		
		Fallow Forest	Virgin Forest			
Jute	34.25	2.50	--	--	36.75 33.2%	
Manioc	--	26.00	2.50	--	28.25 25.5%	
Plantain	--	7.75	28.00	--	35.75 32.3%	
Corn	--	--	--	.50	.50 00.4%	
Rice	1.00	--	--	--	1.00 0.9%	
Preparation	1.00	1.75	5.75	--	8.50 7.7%	
Totals	36.25 32.7%	38.00 34.3%	36.00 32.5%	.50 0.4%	110.75 100.0%	

Table 8.1 (Continued)

	In Hectares				Total
	Floodplain	Inland in Fallow Forest	Inland in Virgin Forest	Banks of Huallaga	
Jute	58.50	--	--	1.75	60.25 51.6%
Manioc	--	22.25	2.50	--	24.75 21.2%
Plantain	--	8.50	21.00	--	29.50 25.2%
Corn	0.75	--	1.25	.36	2.36 2.0%
Rice	--	--	--	--	-- --
Preparation	--	--	--	--	-- --
Totals	59.25 50.7%	30.75 26.3%	24.75 21.2%	2.11 1.8%	116.86 100.0%

Crops November 1977

64% between 1976 and 1977 while the total number of hectares planted in all crops increased only 5½%. The increase in jute was mainly at the expense of manioc and plantains. Population did not change.

The average Tipishca adult male household head spends about 3.41 hours per day on subsistence activities not including jute cropping. Jute cropping accounts for an additional 1.62 hours per day. His total time budget for food-crop agriculture, hunting, fishing and gathering is shown in Figure 8.1 expressed in hours spent and the per cent of the total time spent on subsistence activities per day. Table 8.2 shows the food crop, hunting, fishing, and gathering time budget by age and sex on a hypothetical daily basis with a breakdown of the major food crops.

The general cycle of agriculture has not changed markedly from the patterns in the past. The rhythm of planting and harvesting the floodplain lands is dependent on the seasonal flooding of the river from late February until May. New lands are cleared, burned, and planted from May until October, and most crops are harvested before they are flooded. The schedule for one floodplain strategy at Lake Naranjal is shown below in Table 8.3. This farmer raises all of his food crops on the floodplain. The plantains will survive the flood if it does not last too long.

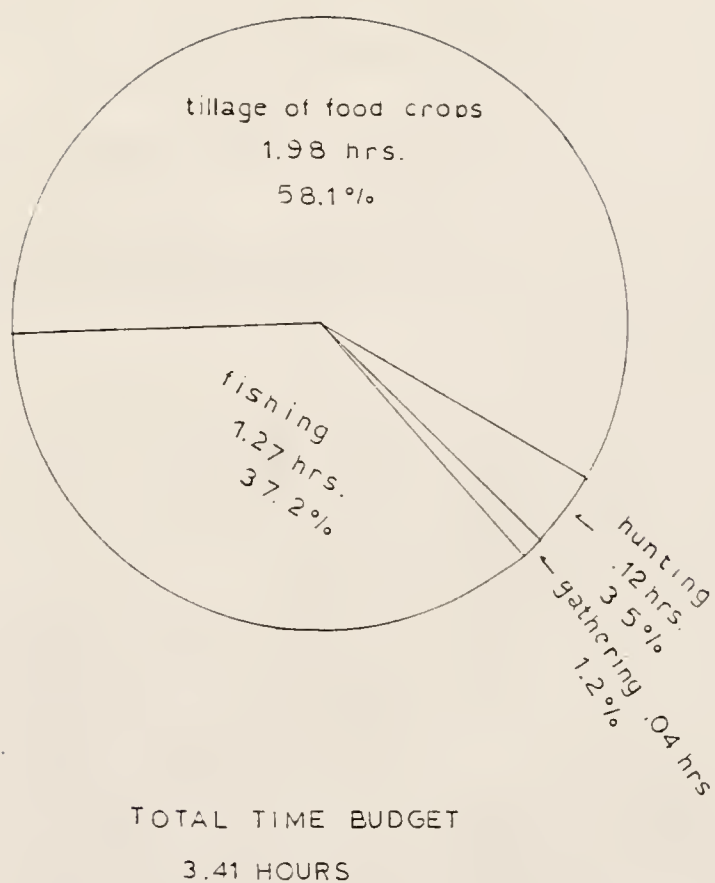


Figure 8.1

Subsistence Activities of Adult Males on a Daily Basis

Table 8.2

Average Time Per Day Spent on Various Subsistence Activities† by Age and Sex

	Males					Females				
	0-9	10-14	15-19	20-50	51+	0-9	10-14	15-19	20-50	51+
Plantains++	.13	.28	.14	.87	.87	.05	.22	.23	.50	.37
Manioc	.19	.38	.29	.74	1.37	.11	.05	.43	.45	.69
Hunting	--	--	--	.12	.12	--	--	--	--	--
Fishing	.17	1.66	.43	1.27	1.66	.05	--	.20	.23	--
Gathering	.03	.10	.05	.04	.04	--	.03	--	.03	--
Total Hours	.52	2.42	.91	3.04	4.06	.21	.30	.86		1.06

†The agricultural work counted as subsistence activities included the clearing, cultivation, and harvest work of the two major crops shown. Subsistence activities shown in Figure 8.1 includes the cultivation harvest of secondary crops intercropped with the main crop.

\*\*Not all plantains are consumed in the community since they are a cash crop. Approximately 23% of the harvested plantains are diverted to regional markets, mainly in Lagunas.



Table 8.3

## Sample Planting Schedule for Floodplain Agriculture

Crop	Month Planted	Month Harvested	Note
Manioc	May 1976	February 1977	First crop planted
Plantain	December 1976	Aug.-Oct. 1977	Second crop planted
Sugar Cane	April 1976	February 1977	Margins of Field
Taro	December 1976	March 1977	Intercrop with Plantain
Sweet Potato	December 1976	March 1977	Intercrop with Plantain
(Hot Pepper	January 1977	March 1977	Planted around house
(Mullaca	January 1977	March 1977	Planted around house
(Parsely	January 1977	March 1977	Planted around house
(Guisador	January 1977	March 1977	Planted around house

The planting and harvesting of the inland alturas is regulated only indirectly by flooding in the floodplain. Since most families are working in the floodplain during the summer (May-October), they normally do not have time to work steadily at clearing new ground in the altura until October-December. This has always been the traditional time to clear altura land, and most people try to take advantage of the three to four week December dry season (refer to rainfall tables in Chapter II) to dry and burn new altura fields. Harvesting in the alturas goes on all year for food crops. The plantains sent to market are normally harvested from October to March.

The laws of supply and demand operate strictly in the plantain market. Figure 8.2 shows a schedule of prices in Lagunas over the year. Low prices reflect the fact that many people are harvesting at that time. The return to peak prices in June of 1977 is somewhat deceptive in that inflation had lowered the purchasing power of the sol by about 31%.

### The Tipishca Economy in Qualitative Terms

The mode of production in the Tipishca economy is domestic, that is, the producing and consuming unit is



+ One sol = 1.015 September, 1976  
 One sol = 1.012 September, 1977

Figure 8.2

Plantain Prices Per Stalk in Lagunas 1976-77 in Soles

usually the extended family household. Each household has from one to several nuclear family units living under one roof. The average Cocamilla household has eight residents, a figure slightly larger than the 7.22 average for Lagunas district as a whole (Censo National, 1972). The major exception to the domestic mode of production is the case of two brothers sharing a house when the parents are dead or not present. In such a case, the brothers will have separate fields and their wives will frequently have separate kitchens.

The clearing and cultivation of many fields is done by minga (work party). In the minga, a man mobilizes closely related men and women, using members of both his own patriline and that of his wife. His ritual co-parents will be asked as well. The work is reciprocated on an immediate level by food (two meals), drink (masato, fermented manioc drink and sometimes aquardiente after work), and hospitality (a party after work). It is reciprocated in the work sphere by the promise of future work on other mingas. The only money which changes hands is the money which goes into procuring and preparing the food and drink for the party, for special food is required. Meat rather than fish must be hunted. Rice rather than manioc must be borrowed or

purchased. Onions must be bought and other condiments must be located. The average expense of a minga approximates 400-600 soles (about 4% of a year's gross income from cash-cropping). By the minga system, all households are linked in a series of interlocking work groups.

The minga system is more complex than a simple model of balanced reciprocity would indicate. By inviting persons to a minga who are sons and daughters of household heads and who do not have many fields of their own, the minga giver can manipulate the system to get as much as three or four times the work input into his own fields as he and his family return. Exclusive of the social activities after work, the average of three households shows that 160 hours per year were invested in the mingas of others, while 293 hours per year were collected as input into the family subsistence system. These figures indicate that the minga system is not simply a traditional exercise in reciprocity but a method of distributing adolescent and female labor.

The Cocamilla have long been accustomed to the use of money and to wage labor. The money exchange co-exists with the essentially reciprocal economy of the Tipishquino today and seems to be making inroads into the reciprocal system. Food exchange between houses in a generalized reciprocity

is now restricted to the very closely related houses while more distantly related houses buy food from each other to make up daily shortages. To be sure, the price for food products within the community is usually about one-half of the price charged to outsiders, but there is a tendency in times of scarcity to approach the prices set by the regional markets, thus alienating family members who resent being treated like anyone else (Cf. Sahlins, 1972:196-204, for a discussion of the relationship between kinship distance and mode of reciprocity which this data indicates). The result of the penetration of the money economy in these spheres is fragmentation of the social order.

The common use of small amounts of money in the community has contributed to social inequality. Very few men have been able or willing to afford nets, but those who have them can accumulate money, especially during times of scarcity. Shamans, formerly paid in food and prestige, are now paid in cash and can command fantastic prices for curing. The reason for this is that many illnesses are believed to originate from "mal de gente" (neighborly ill-will) and envidia (envy). The penetration of the capitalistic economy and consequent gradual fragmentation of the social order accelerates "mal de gente," and the



shamans benefit financially from the breakup of the native society.

There are, of course, wealth leveling mechanisms. The minga itself has become an important one. It is extremely prestigious to give good food and drink at a minga. One man who had nets gave a minga at which ten men ate twelve lake turtles (taricaya), worth about 250 soles each in the regional markets, and one armadillo. The other men talked about it for weeks. The Catholic fiesta system functions in Tipishca as it does in communities all over Latin America to cause mayordomos and assistants to over-extend themselves financially, thus leveling economic differences. One important festival introduced by the public school system, the Queen of the Spring festival, allows the fathers of the young women competing for the prize to "buy" the crown. The young woman who collects the most money is crowned. At times up to 3000 soles (the average gross yearly income does not exceed 10,000 soles or \$117 in 1977 values) may be paid for the crown. Of the total money raised for the 1977 festival (6000 soles), at least two-thirds was spent on the liquor for the festival, music, and the dresses of the queen and her attendants. The government has demanded that schools desist in this festival, but the Tipishquinos

refuse to give it up, perhaps because they unconsciously recognize its value to the social order in wealth levelling. A great deal of satisfaction is gotten from seeing someone impoverish himself to buy the crown, and Tipishquinos gleefully recounted to each other how much was paid in 1977 even though the winner's father was not particularly well off.

A word more should be said about the functioning of the domestic economy. In cases where households consist of an elder man, his wife, his sons, and their wives, and perhaps an unmarried daughter and her children (a typical case), the father and sons will plant their major food fields together and the food is commonly shared. The addition of the capitalist market system in providing opportunities for cash crops has upset the system, causing disputes in the household. The problem arises when each son wishes to make his own cash crop field separate from the rest of the family. Since plantains are one of the cash crops, married sons tend to have their own plantain fields while working with their fathers on manioc fields. Plantains carried to the house have an implied cash value even if they are to be eaten instead of sold. Disputes arise then, involving whether one son is contributing his share from his own fields to the household. Disputes can be particularly bitter between the unrelated wives of the sons.

### The Position of the Agrarian Bank

The major problems faced by the Tipishquino in agriculture are related to the factors discussed above, availability of the land, nature of the crops, and markets for the crops. The state institution which imposes itself most strongly on the Tipishquino is the Agrarian Bank. The bank has one mission, namely to foment agricultural production by extending crop loans to farmers. While the bank's relationships with white-mestizos, especially relatively well-off ones who can hire peon labor, is cordial, its relations with rural Cocamilla are frequently not good.

It is not simply the fact that the bank employees are a social class much removed from the Cocamilla peasant clients with whom they deal, the class relations affect the climate in which loans are given but the Cocamilla can deal with that. They know how to appear humble and are masters at manipulating the patron-client relation in the small latitude they are allowed. The real problem of the agrarian bank is lack of planning and a grave lack of understanding about the lives and practices of the people with whom they deal. Only a complete failure to comprehend the economic realities of Loreto could explain some of their policies in the lower Huallaga region.

A case in point will illustrate why this is so. The bank calculated in 1975 that plantains are sold for an average of 50 soles per stalk through the year. They worked hard during 1975 and 1976 to get people to plant the crop as a cash crop. Many people did, operating on their normal planting schedule. All the plantains came to market during the period from December to March in 1977, dropping the price drastically to 30 soles. The Tipishquinos who had taken the bank's advice and borrowed money lost heavily through the bank's failure to predict laws of supply and demand, failure to estimate the number of plantains the Lagunas market could absorb, and failure to warn them, because of the large numbers of hectares financed, to distribute planting through the year. The Tipishquinos who had plantain loans remained 92,000 soles in debt by November of 1977, and the bank then refused to lend them more money. The crop lien was transferred to their jute crop for the following year.

A second case in point will further illustrate my point of view. The bank might extend a line of credit for a field of any given cash crop, plantains, rice, or jute. Their line of credit is calculated at estimated market prices and standard production figures. The amount loaned

averages about \$200 - \$300 per hectare depending on the crop. The bank interest rate was about 14% in 1976. Most Tipishquinos cannot handle more than a hectare of any cash crop because of time difficulties, since they must maintain a subsistence system as well as a cash crop system. Maintaining and marketing an average of one hectare of cash crop as well as a subsistence system extends the average time that an adult man must work to 5.13 hours per day. This figure includes travel time to the fields (about 31% of all agricultural time) but it does not include the time spent maintaining subsistence tools, getting firewood, food preparation or any other of the inputs into the infrastructure which supports the subsistence system.

The policy of the bank in loaning the money fails completely to take time and distance of travel to the bank into account. They release the money in small payments of \$40 - \$60 for each step of clearing, planting, cultivating, and harvest and transportation. As often as not, the inspector from the bank fails to come to the village to inspect the fields at the appointed time. A Tipishquino farmer is forced to travel to Lagunas (two or three days round trip by paddle) for each payment. The agronomist who is the inspector may or may not be there. If he is not

there, no one else can give the Tipishquino his money. By the time a crop such as rice is marketed, the expenses approximate the figures in Table 8.4 as a conservative estimate. The expense of supporting a family while working on a cash crop is not included. It can be seen from Table 8.4 that a Tipishca farmer would only realize about 5,345 soles for four months labor. Even peon work pays at least \$100 soles per day with meals, about 60% more than this.

It is common to hear white-mestizos in the area criticize the Cocamilla for not raising rice. They say the Cocamilla are too lazy to raise it. An evaluation of Table 8.4 should make obvious the reason why rice is not grown in Achual Tipishca or any other Cocamilla community. They have had experience. The only people who can make money at rice must be able to market it cheaply since marketing is at least 60% of the cost of raising the crop. White-mestizos who have homes in Yurimaguas, boats to carry the products, and peons who work by the day, can make money at rice farming but even they chafe at the byzantine complexity of dealing with the banking structure. The few Cocamilla who plant rice sell it illegally to white-mestizo patrons with boats for a price of half the official price.



Table 8.4

## Expenses of Growing and Marketing Rice in Achual Tipishca

Credit Extended	Expenses	
23,000 soles/hect.	Travel to collect bank loan	500 soles
	Three months interest at 14% per year	805 soles
	Seed	600 soles
	Clearing by <u>Minga</u>	800 soles
	Cultivation by <u>Minga</u>	800 soles
	Harvesting two metric tons	2000 soles
	Transport to River	320 soles
	Boat to Yurimaguas	4000 soles
	Unload from Boat	330 soles
	Load on Truck	330 soles
	Take to Mill	1320 soles
	Unload Truck	330 soles
	Carry to Scales	330 soles
	Change to Mill Sacks	330 soles
	Weighing	330 soles
	Food and Lodging for minimum of 7 days in Yurimaguas	<u>700 soles</u>
	<u>Total Cash Expense</u>	<u>13,825 soles</u>

Discounts on Weight of Rice

Humidity Discount 14%	280 kg
Discount Charge for Drying	200 kg
Discount for Impurities	<u>100 kg</u>

Total Discount from  
Two Metric Tons                      580 kg

The producer is paid for 1420 kg after discounts at 13.5 soles per kg. The total is 19,170 soles.

Value of crop grown	19,170
Expense of growing, marketing, and interest	<u>13,825</u>
Net Profit	5,345

Net Profit of 5,345 soles represents \$82 for four months work or \$20.50 per month not counting expenses of feeding a family while work is done on the rice field. At that rate a man would work six years saving all of his money to buy a boat motor.

The most serious effect of the bank on the lives of the Tipishquinos is their encouragement of jute as a cash crop. The crop is labor intensive, which means that people have to put a high number of hours into its preparation. The major crops and their time inputs per Adult Male Equivalent (AME) per year per hectare are shown in Table 8.5

The Tipishquinos see a possibility of making money in jute since they do not count their own time as inputs into the cropping system and there is less cash outlay in jute than in rice. First class jute sold for 25 soles per kilogram in 1977 and a hectare of jute may produce from 600 to 1200 kilogram of jute. The average is close to 900 kg in Tipishca which produces gross sales of 22,500 soles. Jute has a guaranteed sale price throughout the year, unlike plantains, and the cash expenses of clearing floodplain land where jute is grown is as little as 600 soles per hectare, the maximum out-of-pocket expense for one minga. Since jute is essentially a weed (it grows rapidly, disseminates many seeds, and competes well in primary succession), fields which have been planted once in jute will produce again without re-seeding the next time the field is cut. Total expenses for jute growing and marketing are estimated in Table 8.6.

Table 8.5

Time Inputs Per Adult Male Equivalent (AME)<sup>+</sup> Per Year  
Per Hectare on Manioc, Plantains, and Jute

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	HRS./ AME / HECTARE / YEAR
Manioc	1266 <sup>++</sup>
Plantain	845 <sup>++</sup>
Jute	1029 <sup>++</sup>

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<sup>+</sup>In calculating AME values, the work of people of all ages and both sexes is taken into account. The time values of adult males are calculated as being worth 100%. Because of size and weight differences and work patterns the values of others are multiplied by the following figures.

	0.9	10-14	15-19	20-50	51+
Males	.10	.25	.67	1.00	.67
Females	.10	.25	.50	.67	.50

<sup>++</sup>The labor of adult males (between 20 and 50 years of age) accounts for 43% of the inputs into manioc, 61% of the inputs into plantains, and 62% of the inputs into jute. The labor of adult females (between 20 and 50 years of age) accounts for 15% of the inputs into manioc, 24% of the inputs into plantains, and 16% of the inputs into jute.

Table 8.6  
Expenses of Growing and Marketing  
Jute in Achual Tipishca

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Credit Extended	Expenses
17,000 soles/hectare	Travel to collect bank loan 500 soles
	Six months interest at 14% per year 1190 soles
	Seed -0-
	Clearing by Minga 600 soles
	Cultivation by Minga 600 soles
	Harvest 900 kg 2200 soles
	Washing and drying 2200 soles
	Transport to Lagunas 880 soles
	Transport to Bank 550 soles
	Food and Lodging for two days <u>200 soles</u>
	Total Cash Expense 8420 soles
Gross Sales on 900 kg	22,500
Total Cash Expense	<u>7,390</u>
Net Profit	15,110 soles

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Because of the bank-caused plantain disaster in 1976-77 and the poor marketing conditions for rice, the Tipishquinos have concentrated on jute, as the land-use tables (Table 8.1) demonstrated. As the Table also demonstrated, the concentration on fibre production has been at the expense of food crops. This cannot help but impoverish the lower Huallaga region nutritionally as prices for plantains shoot up in 1978-79. Gross (1971) has observed a parallel phenomenon in Northeastern Brazil in sisal agriculture.

The increase in prices is predictable. During the oil exploration period, when food production dropped, plantains rose in price to 250 - 300 soles per stalk in Lagunas. The effect was to concentrate money in the hands of marketing middlemen and store owners, none of whom were Cocamilla. Any profits the Cocamilla make on the on-coming rise in plantain prices will almost certainly be consumed in inflated prices for consumer goods. At a time when Loreto still imports food, the practice of the bank in concentrating in jute seems to be extremely irresponsible and short-sighted.

The Agrarian Bank and Rural  
Impoverishment

Finally, with regard to the bank, it is usually argued that "development," which includes increasing native and non-native dependence on cash advances from the bank, is good for the bank clients since it increases their cash income. That this conventional argument may not be well-supported by facts is indicated by Table 8.7 which shows the total debt incurred by Tipishquinos over a three year period. The debt is estimated on the basis of a field census. The total debt rises each year, while the amount owed by each person remains consistent.

Table 8.8 shows the results of a census of material items made in November of 1976 in a number of Huallaga communities. The communities are arranged in increasing order of involvement with the bank. In column two the total value of material items which were selected as index items to increasing wealth in the region is calculated. Column three adjusts the total values on the basis of the population of the communities. The correlation between columns one and three is a negative  $-.45$ , indicating that there is an inverse relation between the degree to which a community is involved with the bank and the value/person of material items in the community.



Table 8.7

Bank Debt in Achual Tipishca Over  
a Three Year Period

Date	Number of Men Working with Bank	Average Debt	Estimate of Total Com- munity Debt
November 1975	c. 24	c.8333s.	c.200,000 soles
November 1976	29	9898s.	287,040 soles
November 1977	36	9713s.	349,652 soles

Table 8.8

Degree of Community Involvement with Agrarian Bank vs. Value of Material Prestige Items in Huallaga Communities

Community	% of Men Over 15 years of Age in Debt to Bank	Total Value of Material Items in Index <sup>+</sup>	Value Per Person in Community
Esperanza	4.3	143,000 soles	1336 soles
Pampa Hermosa	17.6	36,000 soles	418 soles
Yahuar Huaca	17.6	72,000 soles	782 soles
Bello Horizonte	20.6	48,000 soles	348 soles
Naranjal	24.4	224,000 soles	1087 soles
Atahualpa	36.4	38,000 soles	311 soles
Tamarate	41.0	110,000 soles	614 soles
Tipishca	43.9	222,000 soles	730 soles

+Indexed items are radios, record players, and sewing machines.

The distribution of the data in column three makes much more sense when the communities are arranged in terms of the numbers of persons in the community who have Spanish surnames. Both Naranjal and Esperanza, the two communities with over 1000 soles/person in indexed material items have percentages of Spanish surnames which approach 50%. The other communities are Cocamilla except for Pampa Hermosa which is largely Chamicuro.

#### Land and Water Rights

The history of the lower Huallaga valley showed that until the era of the rubber boom, the land and water used by Achual Tipishca remained theirs. After the turn of the century, Rodolfo Patow (see Chapter VII) claimed all of the lands occupied by Tipishca as part of his Pampa Hermosa hacienda, but was unable to keep the community from using the land they needed for their subsistence fields. The later barbasco patrons actually occupied the land they needed for barbasco fields, often large extensions of terrain, planting barbasco on the well drained sandier soils. They did not, however, infringe to any great degree on the area in which plantains and manioc are normally planted by the Tipishquinos.

With the end of the barbasco boom, the situation changed. Immigrants from San Martin department were left stranded when the entire barbasco economic structure collapsed virtually overnight. The oil exploration boom from 1971 until 1975 dislocated many thousands of white-mestizos and acculturated Indians like the Cocamilla, accentuating the migrant problem in the cities. Flooding has dislocated thousands more. In the last few years, more and more uprooted people have moved into the lower Huallaga seeking high ground to the east of the river, and fertile riverbank lands for jute. The Lagunas field area is severely overtaxed at present and some people must walk as long as four hours to their fields. At Achual Tipishca, the stream of Yurac Yacu where the best plantain lands are found has seen a strong inflow of people. Esperanza, a new community which overlaps with the Tipishca lands, now has 107 people. The best soils along the stream are all marked out by would-be colonists. Naranjal, a nearby community, has doubled in size in five years. Thus, Tipishca, and other Cocamilla communities are slowly losing control over agricultural land.

The Tipishquinos are aware of the problem but do not know what to do. As natives and cholos they have no access

to the arena of political decision making. Their own land tenure system is a loosely structured one in which the alturas generally considered to be part of the community patrimony are available to any community member. When a field goes into fallow it is considered open property, available to anyone in the community after three to five years. At this point, the grass has been out-competed by trees and shrubs. If the original user does not re-clear the forest, anyone can do so, with or without permission. The system is so loose that the field area can easily be encroached upon by outsiders, since Tipishquinos are reluctant to confront them.

The floodplain lands where jute is planted are now in transition with regard to tenure. The loose system described above has given way to one in which jute fields are said to "belong" to the man who cleared them first. As long as he is still in the community it is his property even if he has been in fallow for five years or more. Emigrating community members lose such rights. This unfortunate individualization of the Cocamilla land tenure (unfortunate because disputes now arise each year regarding the land) is directly attributable to the stimulation of jute as a cash crop and the limited lands available for its planting within a reasonable distance from Tipishca.

Tenure on beaches is more or less permanent. It is generally conceded that the same people will plant the same beaches each year. In the lower Huallaga, most of the good planting beaches "belong" to white-mestizos who use Cocamilla labor to work them. Many of the owners are absentee.

It is clear that the Cocamilla should have their lands protected and that they should secure titles to the land as communities. The agricultural ministry has a program in process of individual parcelization but that project has not affected many Cocamilla by the time of this writing. The effects of imposing private property on the communal land tenure system of Achual Tipishca could only be fragmentation of the society and further individual alienation. The quickest route to land-titles is through the native community law (20653) but one is forced to conclude that the government is reluctant to apply that law in the large river valleys. It is easier to maintain that the Indians such as the Cocamilla have "assimilated" or disappeared.



### Fishing Rights or Starvation

The question of fishing rights is even more pressing. The Tipishquinos are now and have always been dependent on the lake for most of their protein resources. The facts are these:

1. The lake surface is approximately  $1.82 \text{ km}^2$ .
2. The community harvests about 38.9 tons of fresh fish per year. This fish is capable of supplying approximately 56 grams of protein per day per person in the community if none is exported. Actually about 15% of the fish is sold outside the community.
3. Except for the sudden rise in population during the barbasco boom, the size of the community has remained stable for at least 114 years at 300-400 people while net population growth has caused migrant Cocamilla to expand into new lands on and north of the Marañon River valley putting pressure on other Indian groups.
4. In 1952, shortly after the Tipishca population began to swell, complaints began to appear in the community archives that fishing was deteriorating. Within ten years large quantities of barbasco fish poison were being put to use to harvest the increasingly scarce fish. By 1967 the problem was acute. It was not until the community again reached a level of 300-400 population in 1972 that the fish population began to recover. All historical information indicates a balance between the human population on this lake and the fish population at approximately 150-200 people per square kilometer of lake surface with current technology.
5. The Peruvian fishing ministry maintains the principle that all waterways belong to the state.

Accordingly, they grant fishing licenses to commercial fishermen without restriction as to where they can fish except that they are not allowed to fish certain reserved zones set aside for preserving endangered species. The lake of Achual Tipishca has been entered repeatedly in the past few years by relatively highly capitalized white-mestizo fishermen who have virtually eliminated the larger fish and have seriously upset the lake food chain. Some of the Cocamilla work with and for these fishermen even though such work is detrimental to the long-range survival of the community. The fishing boats provide an easy market for their catch.

The government has made little attempt to assess the actual or potential production of lakes such as Achual Tipishca, nor are they particularly concerned with where the commercial fishermen fish.<sup>1</sup> They do not know the human population which vitally depend on the lakes to which they so freely grant fishing rights. The result of such policies will certainly be the creation of nutritional deficiencies in hundreds of communities like Tipishca. Ultimately populations will be stimulated even more to move to urban centers, and more people will be driven out of food production. The rush to "develop" the fishing resources of Loreto has been largely at the expense of native diets.

### Present Nutritional Levels

As to nutrition today, because of the rapid decrease in the population of Tipishca since the 1960s, the diet is now excellent by any standards. It cannot be projected, however, in the future that the levels of caloric intake will remain as high. Table 8.9 shows the results of three dietary studies on two different families at varying points in the flood cycle. Table 8.10 shows the proportions of the diet supplied by certain categories of foods.

The Tipishquinos regularly consume from 12-20 species of small fish (See Appendix III for a list in Spanish of the range of foods regularly consumed. These data are taken from lists made at five times during a year by school children). Five species of wild meat are regularly consumed. Few birds are killed now since the men hunt with shotguns and are reluctant to waste expensive shells on small quantities of meat. Five wild fruits are a regularly exploited resource.

### Summary

In summary, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the effects of the conjunction of native and national economies are detrimental to the natives in purely material

Table 8.9

Results of Three Dietary Studies in Actual Tipishca  
at Varying Points in the Flood Cycle

Date	Lake Level	Grams/Person Protein	Grams/Person Fat	Grams/Person Carbohydrate	Total Calories Per Person
2/15/77	Rising and	46	7	391	1765
2/16/77	just short	55	13	509	2207
2/17/77	of flood level.	63	19	465	2497
2/18/77	Fishing is	55	9	538	2637
2/19/77	relatively	35	6	438	1998
2/20/77	unproductive.	<u>50</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>558</u>	<u>2486</u>
	Mean	51	11	483	2265
3/25/77	Lake flooded.	21	3	438	1699
3/26/77	Hunting	87	17	375	1910
3/27/77	taking place	35	30	430	1013
3/28/77	in restingas	53	10	359	1809
3/29/77	for wild meat.	72	16	625	2739
3/30/77		39	7	453	1870
3/31/77		<u>54</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>441</u>	<u>1899</u>
	Mean	52	13	446	1977
8/3/77	Low water.	161	26	758	2914
8/4/77	Fishing is	44	8	420	1674
8/5/77	relatively	34	6	264	1109
8/6/77	easy and	80	14	443	2143
8/7/77	productive.	<u>58</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>609</u>	<u>2521</u>
	Mean	75	13	499	2072

Each of the three studies was conducted on a single family by actual observation and weighing of the foods consumed. The gram values per 100 grams of edible portion were taken from Wu Leung 1961, Food Composition Table for Use in Latin America.

Table 8.10  
Proportions of Food by Weight Supplied by Various  
Categories of Activity

Date of Study	Plantains and Manioc	Other Ag. Products	Fish	Other Meat	Gathered Products	Fermented Beverages	Purchased Products	Totals
2-15-77 through 2-20-77	56.7%	4.7%	8.5%	--	5.8%	24.0%	0.3%	100.0%
3-25-77 through 3-31-77	69.7%	4.0%	4.3%	8.3%	12.0%	--	1.7%	100.0%
8-3-77 through 8-7-77	75.2%	4.2%	17.2%	0.6%	1.4%	1.0%	0.4%	100.0%
Mean for Year	67.2%	4.3%	10.0%	3.0%	6.4%	8.3%	0.8%	100.0%

terms. The less acculturated and therefore more visible Indians can now receive partial protection by means of land-titles and special relationships with government agencies which enable them in effect to bypass part of the white-mestizo commercial and marketing structure. The Cocamilla do not have this option and it seems unlikely that they will be offered a chance to protect themselves as Cocamilla. While splendid arguments can be made that the Cocamilla are, in fact, Indians, and that the fragmenting and impoverishing effects of "development" work more hardship on them than on any other Indians, the politics of Loreto's development mitigate against their receiving special help.

It must be recognized that in general terms the Tipishquinos are in a similar economic niche vis á vis the national economy as are neighboring white-mestizo settlers. However, the white-mestizo settlers differ from them in important ways. The social organization of their work is much more individualized than the Tipishquinos. The Tipishquinos, because of uncertainties derived from their position at the bottom of the social heap, use bank capital in relatively inefficient ways, spending as little as possible and guarding the money for emergencies,



sometimes paying interest for long periods of time. The white-mestizos use capital from the banks as investments into land-clearing labor inputs and peon labor, providing relatively quick turn-over of the cash. The white-mestizos know more about the credit system than the Tipishquinos and can manipulate the social system through which credit is given much more effectively than the Tipishquinos. These differences, as well as differences in socio-economic class, are reflected in the relatively greater quantity of indexed items found in communities which have high percentages of Spanish surnames.

## Note

<sup>1</sup>This is not to say, however, that the Peruvian government in the person of the ministry of fishing is totally unaware of the potential problem created by free access to populated lakes (cf. Banco de Credito del Peru, 1972; Landa, 1972; Ministerio de Pesquería, 1975-76; Piazza Larraongo and Vildoso Baca, 1965). It is simply that the quality of information about populations and their locations is so poorly coordinated with ecological information about the habitat of the populations that little progress has been made. Furthermore, such an investigation would require the use of social scientists as well as hordes of technicians, an expensive prospect.

## CHAPTER IX

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: THE EGALITARIAN COMMUNITY AND THE AUTHORITARIAN STATE

This chapter describes only some of the salient aspects of social organization in Achual Tipishca. Indeed, a separate book could and should be written about the social and economic organization of this or a similar community, since it typifies so many problems in what is sometimes called "rural development" in Loreto. It is at the conceptual level of social organization that certain jarring contradictions between the state society of Peru with its authoritarian bureaucratic hierarchies and acceptance of formal rules and procedures, and the essentially egalitarian and non-intrusive social system of the native Indian society become most apparent. These contradictions are problematic for both the state and the native ethnic group.

The problem presented to the state by the Cocamilla native community centers around its seeming intransigence in the face of pressures to develop or modernize. Since the state fails through ignorance to recognize the Cocamilla

communities as native communities and therefore fails to understand the nature of the socio-economic system of the Cocamilla native community, it tries to impose its own organizational structure on the community in the form of institutions such as schools, banks, police, and the like. The failure of the institution (especially the medical and educational institutions) to function in approved ways is interpreted as being caused by backwardness and stupidity on the part of the Cocamilla. The state then assumes the relation of parent to child and the Cocamilla are treated as if they were somewhat regressed and backward white-mestizos. District school officials have been heard to say that Tipishquinos do not even know how to cook their food properly. Such arrogance on the part of the white-mestizo elite in dealing with the Cocamilla is ludicrous when the nature of the long-term adaptation to the Amazon environment by the Cocamilla is considered. The communities of Cocamilla on the lower Huallaga River are viewed by white-mestizo persons generally as backward and resistant to change.

Consideration of the recent rapid changes in the cropping system leading to changes in land tenure, nutrition, and abandonment of religious holidays which fall during

the jute-washing season should, for any thoughtful person, suggest that it is not some vaguely conceived "tradition" or innate backwardness which causes developmental problems. Nor is it some mental model, "image of limited good" or other such ideological construct which causes the problem. Rather, it should be abundantly clear that when the marketing and price structures permit the Cocamilla to gain materially, even slightly, they make changes necessary to take advantage of the opportunity. State officials, however, particularly in the education field, cling resolutely to the mentalistic notion that the Cocamilla need somehow to be educated out of their "backwardness."

The problem of the conjunction of state and native systems from the Cocamilla perspective is that while they perceive that they are discriminated against economically and socially, and while they perceive that the communal basis for their society is being shattered, what they get from the state is patronizing advice from white-mestizo school teachers on cooking. Uncomprehending bank officials and heavy-handedness on the part of the Civil Guard aggravate the problem. The Tipishquinos know also that the school organizations do not function properly and that public funds are usually stolen or misused in their

community, but the problems are so embedded in their own and the white-mestizo social structure that they have little insight into the reasons for the failure.

The essential clash is between a small subsistence society based on kinship relations, and the bureaucracies of a large state based on formal rules and procedures. The contradiction might not be so serious if there were not added factors of overt racial-social class discrimination, and major socio-economic differences between the representatives of the state and the Tipishquinos. The hacienda system welded all these contradictions into a functioning economic unit by means of a social system in which the patrons had a number of fictive and affective ties with their clients. The contradictions in wealth and social status were still present even then, but they were worked out in the give and take of the social system of the hacienda, if sometimes by force. With modern bureaucratic infrastructures this solution is no longer possible, although attempts to turn bank officials, school teachers, and anthropologists, into fictive kinsmen are constantly noted. It should also be noted here that the use of force to work out the contradictions surfaced as recently as 15 years ago during the barbasco boom (see Chapter VII).



The Nature of the Egalitarian Community--  
Cocamilla Social Organization

As Chapter IV indicated, the Cocamilla have always lived in communities of roughly the size of Tipishca today, and such communities have always been of a rather acephalous nature politically. The extended family mode of production seems to be linked to the need for the community to disperse periodically to exploit forest resources during times of exceptional flooding, and to plant distant beaches during low water. This flexibility was always a basic part of Cocamilla social organization, and the essential relation of the Cocamilla to the floodplain in terms of subsistence has varied little since contact. It is well to consider also in this context that scarcity of land and water resources was never a problem until recently. This probably inhibited the development of indigenous politically centralized structures except in the middle Amazon where population densities seemed to have been much greater.

The consequence of the mode of production of the Cocamilla is a certain independence of household units although over time the gross size of the unit has reduced from 40-60 persons to just over eight persons. This reduction has probably not had negative consequences in

terms of the ecological adaptation, leaving aside social and moral questions, since internecine war was also suppressed and large defensive units were probably not needed after the conquest.

Achual Tipishca had 41 residential units in 1976-77. The village is organized spatially into rough groups of households of closely related patrilineal kinsmen as shown in Figure 9.1. The major groups are shown in this figure. The houses unidentified with groups are the remnants of patrilineal groups whose members have largely migrated. The five major patrilineal groups left are the Murayaris in three distinct segments, the Tapayuris, the Manihuaris, the Huaycamas, and the Pereyras. The barrios shown in the figure were created in the 1960s to organize communal work and have social significance only insofar as related people tend to live close to each other; therefore, the barrio separation also separated major kin groups, tending to isolate them further.

Each patriline, recognized by surname, is called a sangre (blood). Sangres do not mix; hence, one looks for a mate in another sangre. Violations of this prohibition are extremely rare. Children belong to the sangre of their fathers, but preserve the maternal surname as a second surname in Spanish fashion. The importance of maternal surnames

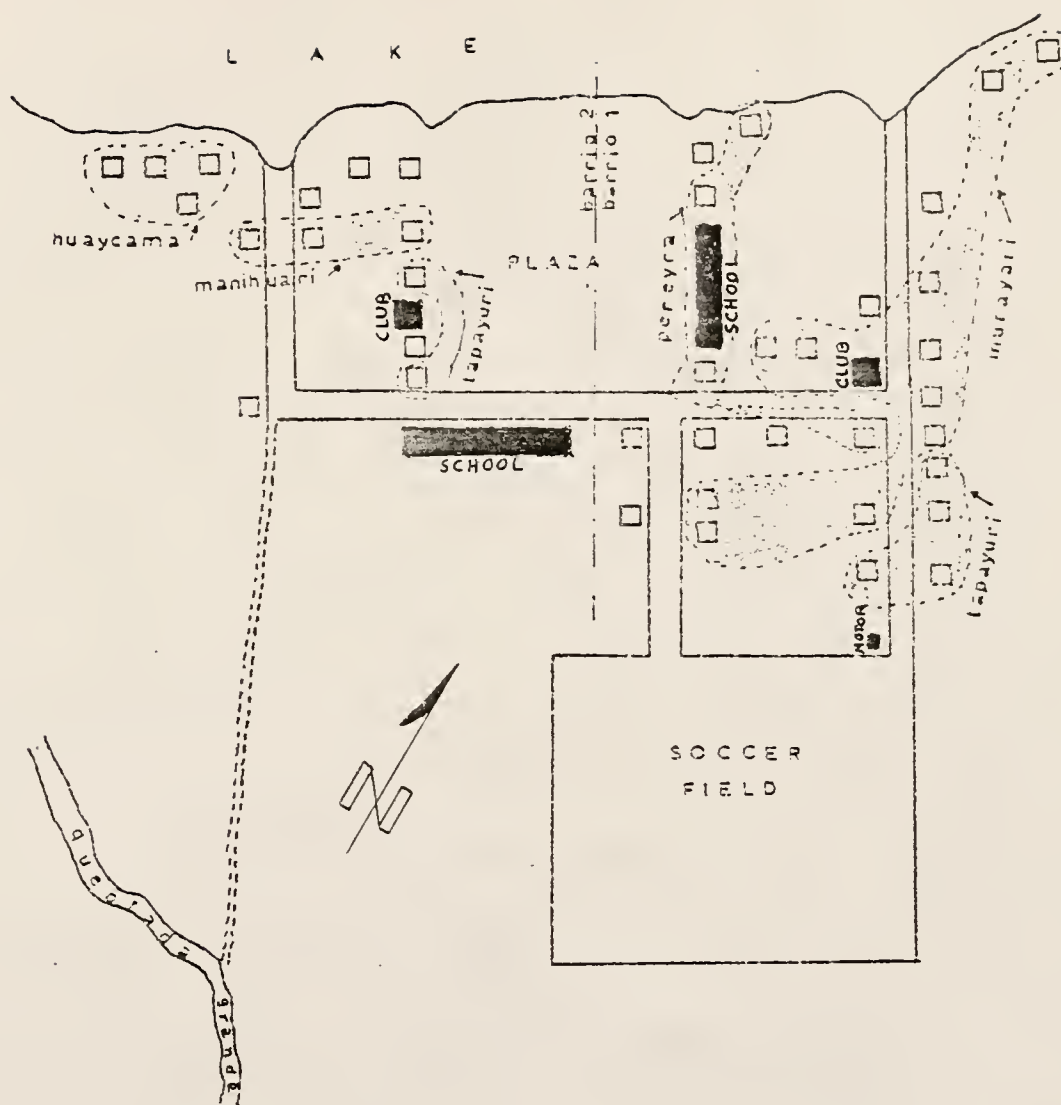


Figure 9.1

Groups of Patrilineal Kinsmen in Achual Tipishca

was illustrated for the writer by his first trip to Achual Tipishca in 1975. A nine year old boy was able to give the complete names of every man and woman in the village with both paternal and maternal surnames. There were few corrections as the community became better known. Interestingly, however, adult males frequently cannot recall the names of adult women in other families, probably since the matter is no longer of interest to them as already married men.

Sangres do not have a recognized founder nor do they have totems associated with them at present, but Espinosa (1935:128-129) provides etymologies which indicate animal and vegetable origin of some surnames. The depth of known geneologies is rarely over two ascending generations. Members of different segments of one sangre recognize that they are closely related even if they are not completely certain of the geneological connection. The Spanish term primo (cousin) frequently takes care of ambiguous relationships.

The Cocamilla formerly had bifurcate-merging kinship terminology in the first ascending generation with Iroquois cousin terms (see appendix IV for the basic system and a brief discussion of some of the more interesting aspects of

the old kinship system). Their present kinship system has lost some of the distinctions while preserving others necessary to the marriage system. As Figure 9.2 shows, the parallel versus cross-cousin distinctions is maintained. This is so because many marriages still take place between cross-cousins. Additional rules of kinship different from the Spanish system are shown in Figure 9.3.

The children of primos call each other primo. The parents of one's primos are called tio and tia (uncle and aunt), and the grandparents of primos are called abuelo and abuela (grandfather and grandmother). A check with the original Cocamilla terminology will reveal the coincidence of the two systems. The generations twice removed from one's own receive Hawaiian terminology in either language. The Catholic priests in the area today do not understand the part of the system shown in Figure 9.2. They frequently suffer pangs of guilt for marrying primos when, in fact, the relationship may be several generations removed and extremely distant.

Marriage tends to be between sangres which are spatially proximate. Achual Tipishca is 78% endogamous. Only 10.9% of the population was born in another village. This endogamy rate is extremely high, even for this zone, but it must be

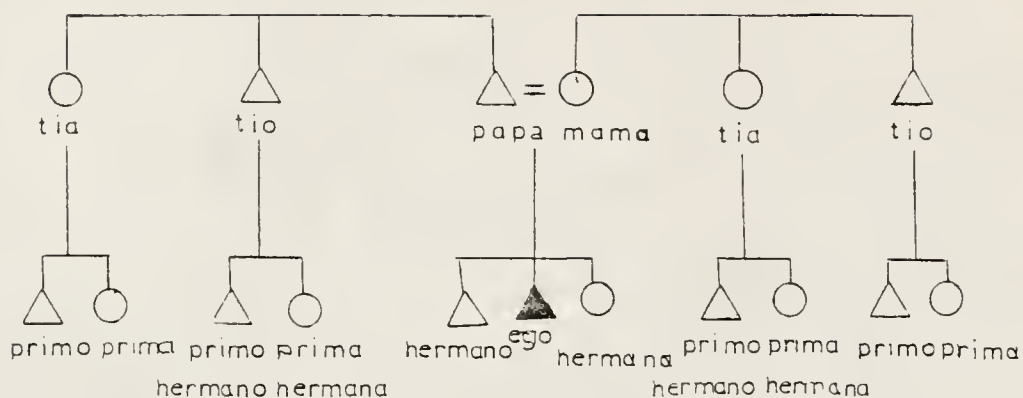


Figure 9.2

## Cocamilla Use of Spanish Kinship Terms

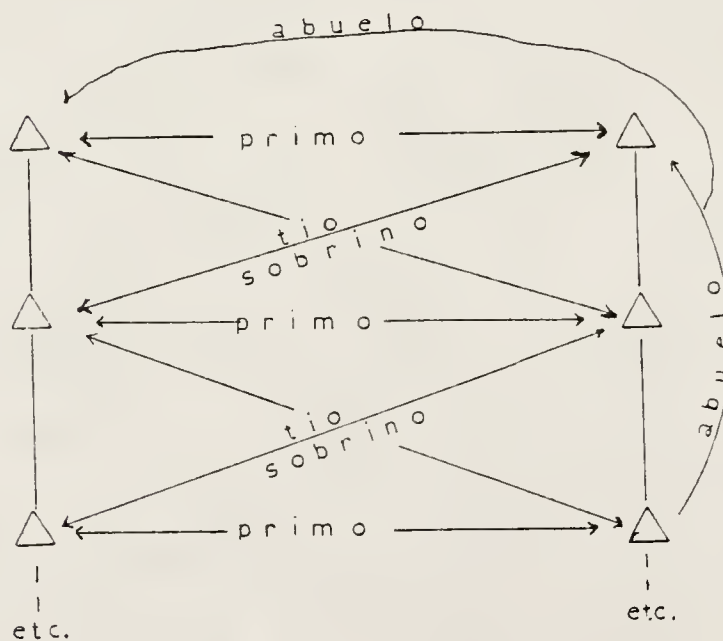


Figure 9.3

## Cocamilla Use of Primo-Tio-Sobrino-Abuelo Terms



recalled that Tipishca is one of the three oldest Cocamilla communities, each of which has similar endogamy rates. An analysis of seven smaller neighboring communities shows an average village endogamy rate of 21.7%. Two of these communities have relatively high rates of Spanish surnames. Their endogamy rate considered alone is less than 2%. The other five are composed mostly of Cocamilla of various sangres, many of them emigrants from the larger Cocamilla communities like Tipishca. Their endogamy rate is about 30%. These five native communities which are smaller than Tipishca tend to find mates in Tipishca, Lagunas, and Arahuate. Endogamy within the Cocamilla native ethnic group as a whole is difficult to estimate, but it is unlikely to be lower than 85%. In examining baptismal and marriage records in Lagunas, and in a census of ten lower Huallaga communities, only about 7% of cases were encountered where Spanish and Cocamilla surnames were mixed in a marriage. Few cases are encountered where maternal and paternal surnames are mixed Spanish and Cocamilla. The very low proportion of out-marriage is due as much to prejudice on the part of white-mestizos with Spanish surnames as it is to a desire by the Cocamilla to maintain the integrity of the native ethnic group. White-mestizo

parents, even poor ones, simply do not want their children to marry cholos. This, of course, is a powerful demonstration of continued Cocamilla identity and viability.

As mentioned above, village endogamy in Achual Tipishca is 78%. Of the village-endogamous marriages, 60% are within a single barrio. The most desirable marriage has always been between two sangres which continue to exchange women over the years. Marriages are called cambios (exchanges) when two women in the same generation are exchanged as in Figure 9.4. Anthropologists will recognize a simple exchange system with bilateral cross-cousin marriage in this pattern.

As is apparent in Figure 9.4, any family of the immediate sangre may give the woman. Thus, in this case, #2 gets a woman from Sangre B. He gives a daughter (#7) to Sangre B years later and B gives a daughter (#9) to #2's brother's son (#6). The cambio is conceived as #7 for #9.

Cambios are no longer as prevalent as they were, though some older people maintain that it is still the desired marriage. Probably no more than 10% of the marriages are now part of formal cambios, but a loose exchange system over the generations persists. A male tends to find a wife where his father found one, in his mother's sangre (which helps explain why maternal surnames are recalled by young

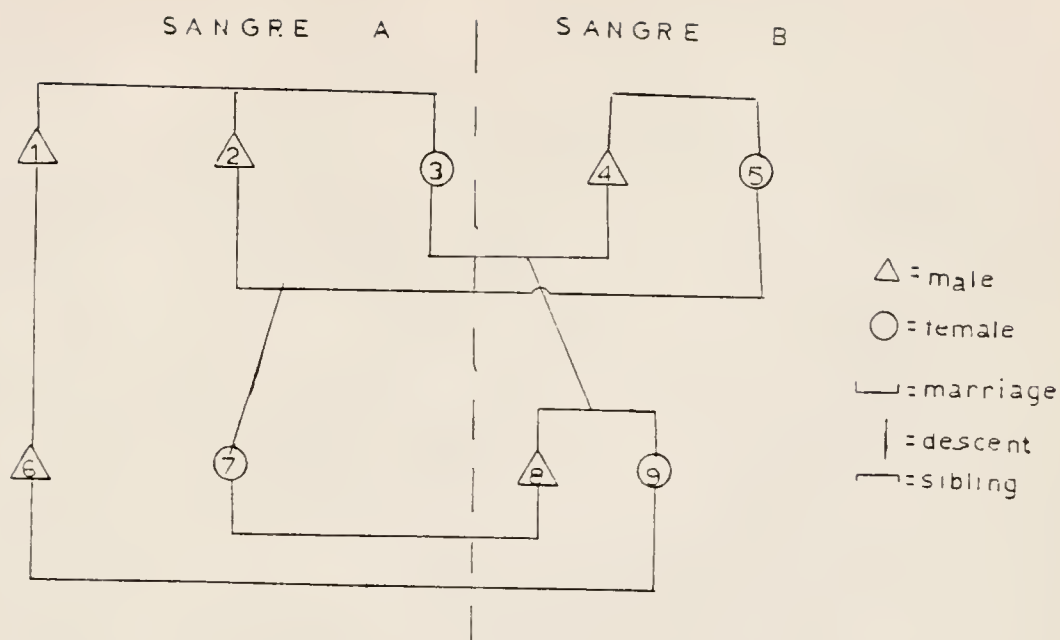


Figure 9.4

### Typical Marriage Exchange Over Two Generations

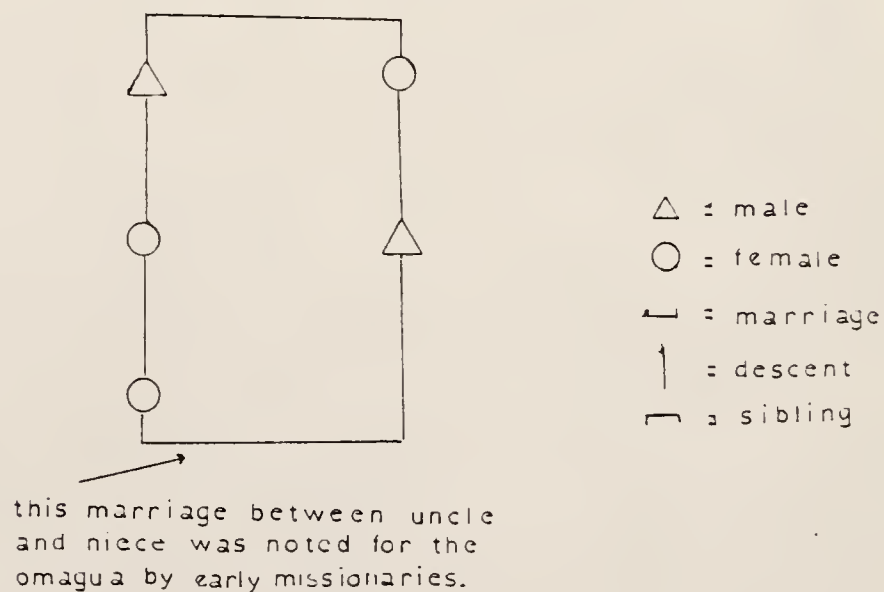


Figure 9.5

### Typical Cross-Cousin Inter-Generational Marriage

people). Another fairly common variation on the theme is the marriage of a man with the daughter of a cross-cousin as shown in Figure 9.5. Since the church disapproves of such marriages, Tipishquinos are reluctant to discuss them, and preserve the fiction that the married pair are "primos." Actually very few marriages are either civil or religious in an official sense nowadays. Most are simply arranged and executed without benefit of paper or clergy because no priest is now resident in the community and visits are extremely rare.

The organization of the community into groups of inter-marrying kinsmen who tend to be spatially proximate is reflected in all larger organizations which are indigenous to the community. The two sports clubs take their membership mainly from the barrio in which the building which houses the club is located, although the buildings are less than 100 meters apart. The membership of one of them is 85% from the Murayari sangre, while the other has no Murayaris as members. Kinship rivalries are both expressed and heightened by competition between the two clubs. Of course, soccer has very important functions in creating male solidarity beyond immediate kinsmen, and especially in inter-community communication. It is also important in

the marriage system, for it is frequently through visiting other communities to play soccer that young men from the smaller communities find wives.

Most important distinctions in Cocamilla social organization are eventually expressed as soccer teams. The following competitions were observed over an 18 month period:

1. Males in club A vs. males in club B.
2. Females in club A vs. females in club B (wives and daughters of the males in the respective clubs).
3. Married males vs. unmarried males.
4. Married females vs. unmarried females.
5. Army veterans vs. non-veterans.
6. Competition both in and out of school between males of various age groups.
7. Competition both in and out of school between females of various age groups.
8. Inter-community school competition for males.
9. Inter-community school competition for females.
10. Young males vs. young females.
11. Community A males vs. community B males.
12. Community A females vs. community B females.
13. Mestizo teachers vs. Tipishquinos.

Conversely, institutions such as the Parents of Family (Padres de Familia) an organization of the parents of school-age children (and attended exclusively by males in Tipishca)

do not form soccer teams even though there were in 1<sup>9</sup>76-77 two such organizations, one for each school and one would expect competition between them. The institution is imposed on the Tipishquinos from outside and does not reflect any basic distinction in social organization.

### The Community and the State

Given the general organization of the community, it should not be surprising that institutions which are imposed from outside and which cross-cut the natural divisions of the community are not successful. A recent attempt to create a medical cooperative in the community is almost certainly doomed to failure (as it is presently organized) simply because it attempts to create a situation in which some people are members of the cooperative and some are not. The medicines are paid for by members and are to be sold to them at a cheaper price than to non-members. But the Cocamilla act by kinship rules, not by formal rules of the hospital service of the state. When a member's brother or brother's wife or children need medicine, the member will obtain it at membership rates. Eventually the funds of the cooperative will be exhausted. The only solution would be to organize the entire community, but many people do not wish to belong, since membership requires a cash outlay.



The least-understood feature of the many-faceted social behavior of the Tipishquino deals with the non-intrusive nature of their social relations. White-mestizo culture with its easy acceptance of authoritarian hierarchies and formal rules tends to socialize its children by imposing multitudes of rules on them in a highly autocratic fashion. "Bureaucratic" authoritarianism penetrates even to the most elementary relations between child and parent. The authoritarian state structures are thus understood and usually maintained by the children when they grow up.

No native ethnic group operates in this way. Children are socialized to be part of a small-scale social system. This means that they must be extremely flexible in their dealings with others. Confrontations are discouraged. In all age groups there is a concerted attempt to discourage open conflict. When it breaks out among adults, the result is usually the emigration of the household with the least kinsmen, or at least a change of residence within the community. The elimination of the post of curaca and its replacement by young community political authorities has made it even more likely that migration will be the result of open conflict, since the young authorities have not the moral authority to resolve disputes.

Many of the behaviors of the Cocamilla objected to by the white-mestizo authorities stem from the non-intrusive principle. A case in point is behavior that white-mestizos frequently see as child neglect. Tipishquino parents do not often over-ride the objections of children to taking medicine, especially long series of injections for tuberculosis. Thus medicines are not always given to the children, and in some cases the parents may sell medicine given by the state because the child does not want to take it.

In the adult sphere non-intrusiveness conflicts directly with the state bureaucratic procedures in the realm of public funds. Money is collected for a number of community purposes. At times the municipal agent may arrange a contract with outsiders for the clearing of fields and every man in the community works for a day on the contract. Community members with bank loans occasionally contract the community for field work. This money usually is destined for public projects such as the purchase of oil for the ancient diesel engine given to the community by the pre-1968 government of Fernando Belaunde. The groups of men who have children in school (there are two primary schools, male and female, and each has an organization of padres de familia) raise money to buy books and repair the school.

The two sports clubs raise money to have dances and buy equipment. The medical cooperative raises money to buy medicines. The accounting of these funds is virtually nonexistent and in 18 months the records of the writer show discrepancies of close to 12,000 soles. Where did the money go? Much of it was loaned to relatives by the various treasurers. One man stocked a small household store (bodeguita) with funds at least part of which were public money. A school teacher and his compadre spent some on beer and gambling.

Representatives of white-mestizo bureaucracies cannot fathom such behavior. Obviously accounting is needed. Why can these people not "learn to handle money," they say? On the surface it is confusing. On one hand the Tipishquino is extremely guarded with money, spending an absolute minimum; on the other hand robberies of public money are never seen as such. But it must be recalled that formal accounting systems are confrontation systems in the sense that accounts must balance and blame must be assigned when they do not. The survival over centuries of Cocamilla society has depended in part on allowing the social system to absorb direct confrontation and to avoid it when possible. There are powerful forces at play which mitigate against

assigning blame publicly and officially and acting on it. Even when, as in one case, consensus has been reached that a certain treasurer is missing several thousand soles, it is highly unlikely that he (Cocamilla women do not handle money) will be pressed for it. Most of the Tipishquinos are related to him in one way or another and do not wish to offend. Also, when money has left one's pocket and is in a public fund, it is considered to be already gone and the individual is unlikely to see it again, even if it does not melt away.

Non-intrusiveness creates special problems for all state bureaucratic procedures which depend on public meetings, majority rule, and voting. The Cocamilla method of achieving consensus is extremely difficult for white-mestizos to understand. Tipishquino public meetings are filled with silences. They operate on the principle of de facto unanimity, that is, the absence of voiced objection. A proposal is made. Silence follows. If there is no verbal objection after a few minutes, the proposal is assumed to be accepted. At times two or three minutes will pass until someone voices a mild objection. If no further discussion ensues, the proposal is assumed to be rejected, but a slight re-statement of the original proposal by

another may swing the issue if there is no further objection. No vote is normally taken. The majority does not impose its will on the minority because the cooperation of all is needed. Given the acephalous nature of the socio-political system, any attempt to force a minority would result in its non-participation. Thus, measures considered "good" or "progressive" by school authorities, medical authorities, or political authorities cannot possibly succeed when they alienate more than two or three community members. If they succeed temporarily, as in the case of the building of the two schools in the 1960s, they fail ultimately. In the case of the schools, the man most responsible for building them was ultimately forced out of the community, even though he was a native Tipishquino, the first Cocamilla to teach there. The schools are now neglected and half-destroyed.

Officials who visit the community misinterpret the silences in which consensus is building and try to fill them in with talk--supposedly convincing arguments. They assume that their suggestions will be carried out when they force a vote and get a majority. They are disappointed when the community fails to follow through, and they blame the Tipishquino's "backwardness." Again, they fail to realize that the Tipishquino's socio-political system has

strong roots in their relations with the physical and social environments, and that even if they understood the system, it would be impossible to change it without changing basic economic structures in the environment of the Tipishquinos or by physically forcing the Tipishquinos to conform to white-mestizo ideals.

### The School as a Model of the Social Environment of Achual Tipishca

The social environment of Achual Tipishca and its effects on community social organization is best described with reference to the school system. It should be clearly recognized that the essential relation of the Cocamilla with white-mestizo sectors historically has been one of an economic and social underclass. In response, the Cocamilla native community long ago made certain defensive behaviors a part of its cultural repertory. Deference to white-mestizos is a norm, while making gentle jokes about them when they are not present is also a norm. Appearing to cooperate while continuing to pursue one's own aims is another long-established pattern. Behaviors likely to be viewed as "Indian" by white-mestizos are acted out only in contexts in which no white-mestizo is likely to be present.



The school system is the one state institution (besides the ineffective political posts in the community) which is always with the Tipishquinos and it is the only one today which requires white-mestizos to be present constantly in the community. Two school teachers, a man and a woman, are normally assigned. Their travails are a paradigm of Cocamilla/white-mestizo relations. There are, as mentioned previously, two schools, each with five grades in 1976-77. Although the state wishes the schools to mix male and female students, the Tipishquinos have until now insisted that the schools be separated by sex. There are about 80 students in the two schools.

The Tipishquinos want their children to learn. At the heart of much urban migration from the rural areas in the lowlands is the desire by upwardly mobile parents to send their children (at least an elder son) to secondary school. The settlement pattern of the entire lower Ucayali River (Cocama territory) is strongly influenced by the school system (Stocks, 1977) as is the settlement pattern on the lower Huallaga River. Except for regional market towns, communities tend to be just large enough to have a primary school.

The school system fails to take into account differences in social class between the school teachers and most of their rural clients. In Loreto, furthermore, teachers in rural areas rarely have more than a secondary school degree and have not, therefore, the training or the understanding of their function which would allow them to supercede questions of social class. The result is that poorly trained white-mestizos are normally thrust into isolated rural communities where they vegetate resentfully until they can be transferred out. Because the teachers earn six or seven times as much as the Cocamilla, by the end of the stay it is a rare teacher who does not function as a patron, and in one case observed the teacher had nearly every man in town working for her. The teachers in Achual Tipish have no respect and little liking for the Tipishquinos and the Tipishquinos reciprocate. They have no difficulty sensing the teachers' attitudes and they resent the patronizing manner which the teachers adopt to mask their true feelings.

For its part, the school system believes the educational problem to be one of lack of relevance of the curriculum to rural life. The national school system has, by means of educational reform, tried to eliminate autocratic and authoritarian teaching methods, an impossible task in the

context of an authoritarian state. Ideal models of education developed, one is led to believe, from research on how children in industrialized societies learn and behave have been imported. These models and methods are applied to the educational regime of the upper Amazon Basin as elsewhere in Peru. They use, as mentioned above, untrained, unskilled, and largely insensitive teachers in the rural areas. The result is a school system ill-adapted to any conceivable needs of the Cocamilla.

The Tipishquinos are perplexed by all of this. They want their children to read and write. They do not need the schools as places where children are socialized as in industrial countries; their children are adequately socialized in the course of everyday community life. They do not need schools to be babysitters; if children are not to learn basic disciplines in order to "defend themselves," then they should help in the fields. The labor of children is an important part of their own adaptation to the environment as it is all over Peru among rural agriculturalists and herders. Children should be learning basic survival skills. The Cocamilla perceive that the graduates of elementary school were much more educated and prepared to "defend themselves" in the world twenty years ago than they are today.

The teachers themselves do not comprehend the foreign models of education thrust upon them for implementation. When called upon to carry on "roundtable discussions" in primary school, one teacher is reported to have sawed the corners off the school table. The easiest thing for them to do is to teach the way they were taught, in a highly formal, quasi-military, didactic, authoritarian fashion. One Tipishca school teacher, frustrated and confused, regularly beats the children in his charge, forces them to perform painful exercises used in the army for punishments, takes them out of school regularly to have them work in his plantain field, and closes up school for days at a time without explanation.

Naturally there is constant friction between the schools and the community. Satisfaction is rarely granted. The above-mentioned school teacher took as his woman the daughter of a village man, to her father's chagrin. He had previously impregnated another unmarried young woman in the same community and had abandoned another young woman and the child they had produced in another community. During the school year he tried to seduce four of the female primary school students (age 12-14). When their parents finally objected, he taunted them, saying that they could not make trouble

for him because he had money. Official community complaints to the school district with full documentation produced nothing but a transfer the following year to another community. The school district said there "was not sufficient evidence." It is nearly impossible to fire a state employee and the school district was not prepared to attempt to do so on the behalf of a Cocamilla community. Upon his transfer he abandoned the woman with whom he was living and their new child. When the writer pursued the case at the level of the school district, he was told by some of the Lagunas white-mestizos not to be upset, the girls were "only cholas." In any event the head of the school district has no power to discharge employees.

The school parent organization, the "padres de familia," is probably the most ineffective social group in the community. The organization crosscuts barrio and sangre indiscriminately. It is supposed to function democratically by majority rule. Meetings of the two organizations (there are two schools) invariably produce lists of goals and objectives which are rarely acted on or accomplished.

### Summary

In summary, Achual Tipishca social organization shows many characteristics which identify it as a native community. Above all, social life is based on kinship relations. The necessities and relations of production which give rise to the extended family household as a productive unit, and the work relations between households, are expressed and coordinated by the kinship system. Nearly all other social relations are embedded in it. The acephalous political structure of the community is directly related to the kinship system. All three of the major Cocamilla communities are largely endogamous, and endogamy is even higher within the native ethnic group.

The non-intrusive socialization of Tipishquinos affects all of their relations with white-mestizos, even the poorest. The position of the egalitarian community in an authoritarian state is logically one of direct opposition. The two systems of socialization and their consequent behaviors and institutions are diametric opposites. Historical penetration of the egalitarian social system by a capitalist economy (as shown in Chapter VIII) has probably given it the flexibility to co-exist with the increasingly pervasive authoritarian system without being totally



destroyed, at least for the present. The long historic experience of the Cocamilla with domination by white-mestizos has also helped them to deal with state institutions with a minimum of confrontation. They apply the rules of their non-intrusive social system to their dealings with the state, and succeed in merely being thought backward and rather dull. The clash of the two systems is seldom dramatic, but it is extremely painful for the Cocamilla in Achual Tipishca and other native communities, and it is especially frustrating for the state officials who only dimly comprehend that they are dealing with an unfamiliar cultural adaptation.

## CHAPTER X

### COCAMILLA IDENTITY PATTERNS: THE NATIVE AND THE STATE

Most anthropologists would agree that ideologies have important functions in "making sense" of the praxis of social life. It is at the level of ideology that values are expressed, and it is the system of values which allows ranking and ordering of the experiential world. Without ideology, sensory experience would be overwhelmingly complicated. It is also at the level of ideology that ethnic boundaries are maintained. The maintenance of these boundaries and the social practices which both give rise to them and express them is the subject of this chapter.

The Cocamilla have learned the art of protective ideological coloring. They have learned it well. The various levels of social identity which these Indian peasants have developed can each be called forth under appropriate circumstances. It is their relationship to the larger Peruvian state society and their simultaneous identification as citizens of the nation, native Indians, and members of a regional social class, which make their

identity such a complex affair. Less acculturated Indians in a "tribal" state may self-identify only as members of a village or lineage. White-mestizos identify as Peruvians and as members of a social class. Only the "civilized" or "Christian" Indians, the cholada in the low-land tropical forest, have identities as native Indians, as cholos in the class system, and as Peruvians. The range of possible identities results in a system of remarkable layering and many protective behaviors result to mask unpopular identities.

#### Identity as Peruvians

The auto-identification of the Cocamilla depends on many factors. Like all members of nation-states, Tipishquinos have various levels of identity which are called into consciousness and acted out in varying circumstances. At the most general level, certain national holidays such as "Dia de la Patria" call forth an identity as Peruvians. At this time flags are seen, and some houses even have flags painted on their outside walls. Tipishquinos listen to national soccer games on the two or three radios in the village and exult with the Peruvian team when it wins. They have, as mentioned in Chapter IX, adopted soccer as

a sport and they spend a great deal of time playing or watching it. The activity has many other economic and social functions, but it has an ideological function as well. The Tipishquinos, by identifying with the national sport, are making a statement about belonging.

In a similar way, men who have served in the Peruvian army (34% of males over 15), stress their national identity at certain specific times, especially at official Peruvian holidays such as "Dia de la Patria." School children are trained to march and the men stand around and give them advice, reliving their own military lessons. It is only at this particular celebration where games of individual competition are seen. Such games are influenced by contact with white-mestizo society and culture and the Tipishquinos see them as "Peruvian" games.

The state prefers to see only these behaviors as indicative of the Tipishquino identity. The fact that many Tipishca men have had to get identity documents in order to borrow bank money and work for oil companies is seen by state officials and by the few Cocamilla who have genuinely "passed" into white-mestizo society as indications that they are no longer native Indians. One such man, for example, a former Tipishquino, says, "These people are not

natives. They are citizens. Most have their papers and the laws regard them as any other. A native is one who knows nothing, who has to have patrons. We see them every day at SINAMOS asking for help."

Disregarding errors in fact (only 34% of adult males and no females have papers) if the Tipishquinos are not natives but rather citizens, are they equal to other citizens? The same man quoted above is extremely bitter because he was forced out of a responsible job in the school district "because I was a cholo and the other teachers, these mestizos, didn't want to take orders from a cholo. So they conspired against me."

#### The Class of the Apellido Humilde

The identity as cholo is the next layer of identity, and in some ways, for most people, the strongest identity beyond that of the individual. This identity is the one which directly reflects the status of the unassimilated native enclave typical of the rural Cocamilla. It is almost certain that the "national identity" of the Tipishquino is of fairly recent origin, and is related to obligatory military service for men, and the presence of white-mestizos in the community during the barbasco boom.

The identity as cholo, on the other hand, is much older and based on the historic separation of the Cocamilla and other "mission" or "civilized" Indians from the rest of the native ethnic groups, and their conjunction with and domination by white-mestizos.

The cholo identity is a class identity. Its semantic field extends to all persons known by the Cocamilla in the condition of peasants or workers with "Indian" surnames. The experience of being cholo is constantly reinforced whenever the Tipishquinos have any contact with white-mestizo traders, patrons, marketing centers, or state authorities. The extension of cholo boundaries beyond the native ethnic group is clearly shown by the social distinctions made between "low" or "humble" (native) and "high" or "wiracocha" surnames (Spanish or other European).

It is very difficult when we, the people with low surnames try to marry with other people; at times the boy or girl becomes enamored with other people, the mestizos, or people with high surnames. But the families do not like their children marrying with cholos (Tipishca man, in unpublished field notes).

There are many non-Cocamilla, but "native" surnames in the region, and the speaker who refers to "low" surnames includes them in this statement. There are also a few Spanish and Portuguese surnames which are now Cocamilla.



An 1864 census of Tipishca, for example, showed that a Salvador Pereyra (a Brazilian trader) lived there and married a Cocamilla woman. His descendents still live there and are Cocamilla. There are no non-Cocamilla Pereyras on the lower Huallaga River.

In another case, the Spanish-Basque name Olortegui has become largely identified as Cocamilla. In this case, the identification is not complete, and most of the Olorteguis who were formerly residents of Tipishca when the white-mestizos lived there have moved to their own community to avoid the identification as Cocamilla. "We are not cholos," they say.

The "low" surname identification is particularly vexing to the Tipishquino since, unlike less acculturated native communities, they are constantly encountering discrimination with a wide variety of people. Many of the young women who go away to work in white-mestizo homes as servants change their surnames after their first employment in order to mask their native identity. Although historically Brazilian, for example, the name Pereyra is so strongly associated in the local context as Cocamilla that it was changed in one such instance to Perea.

The economic status associated with being cholo in the lower Huallaga River is one of being poor. Many times conversations reveal that the Tipishquinos feel themselves to be a part of a generalized class of selvatic poor. Poor people, they say, eat plantains, manioc, and fish (native food). Rich people eat rice, beans, and beef (white-mestizo food). The bank, according to them, does not want to help poor people. It will finance a maximum of two hectares of crops for the poor, and seldom that much.

#### The Cocamilla as Cocamilla

The "Indian" identification of the Tipishquino as specifically Cocamilla is the most sensitive of the identity "layers." The word Cocamilla or Cocama is rarely heard except in the context of the language (i.e., "This dialect we speak is the speech of the Cocamilla."), or in the context or the origin of some of the older people (i.e., "My grandfather was a Cocama from the Ucayali River."). Nevertheless, the identity is still expressed as the following excerpt from field notes shows:

José asked me about my study. He was aware that I was interested in the Cocamilla. When we were talking about the origin or names such as Mashingashi in Esperanza, he said, "Yes, Mashingashi is Aguaruna. That

is a tribe just as the Cocama are. There are Cocama and little Cocama. My name, Curitima, for example, is not Cocamilla but rather Cocama. We Curitimas are all from the big Cocama. Efraín and Froilan are both Lamistas, but they live here now, just like the Cocamilla. Wilfredo here is really, properly speaking, a Brazilian. His grandfather (note: actually his great-grandfather) came and left them here, growing like a tree. Plant a seed and look today what you find. A whole tree full of Pereyras."

Wilfredo smiled broadly and agreed that his grandfather "left us here as Cocamilla."

In another case an informant said the following:

Juan says that we shouldn't be ashamed of being Cocamilla. The Cocamilla man is as good as any mestizo. It is just that they have the money.

It must not be supposed that even though there is an identification (usually implicit) as Cocamilla that the Cocamilla therefore identify as "Indians." They most emphatically do not. A frequent distinction is between indio and Cristiano. They often identify themselves as Christian, and this identity is, in effect, an identity as fully human. The Cocamilla will say of an intelligent monkey, for example, that it is "almost Christian." When rumors of the pishtako, which is believed to melt Indians down for grease (Oliver-Smith, 1969), resurfaced along the Marañon River with the oil exploration of the early

1970s, it was finally agreed by some white-mestizos and by Cocamilla that the indios were out of danger because the gringos were now melting down monkeys. The monkeys were considered to be higher on the scale from animal to human than were the indios or tribus (tribes). As the history of the Cocamilla showed, the distinction between "Christian" and "Indian" is the oldest social distinction in the post-conquest tropical forest.

The depth of the sensitivity about the "nativeness" of the Cocamilla of Achual Tipishca was brought home to the writer when one of the white-mestizo school teachers in an unguarded moment in Lagunas spoke to his friends about a gringo who had "conquered" a community of "tribus" where he (the teacher) was teaching. The word got back to the community that he had referred to them in this derogatory way. The row that followed involved a public meeting at which a few community members, in an extremely rare move, actually confronted him directly with the rumor. What surfaced was extremely interesting. The argument of the Tipishquinos was that they resented fiercely any suggestion that they could again be so easily "conquered" or dominated. The memory of the barbasco years was fresh upon them. Paradoxically the presence in Tipishca of the mestizos

encouraged the growth of the schools. The Tipishquinos were forced to attend the schools, and they attributed their eventual liberation to the literacy brought by the schools. Now the new school teacher was implying that they were ignorant and illiterate, susceptible to easy domination. For them, it was apparent that an important difference between a tribu and themselves was the relative ease of domination of the tribus. But they had driven the last patron away. They were proud of it, and rightly so. They had, they said, "minds of their own," and if they chose to permit the writer to live with them it was their own decision, freely made.

### Community Identification

An identification which permits them to bypass terminological distinctions based on class, ethnic group, and race, is the identification as community members, Tipishquinos. It is perhaps the stigma attached to Indian identity which makes this identity one which is so frequently expressed in daily life and in song.

In the waters of Andahuaylas  
Almost, Almost I was lost  
I saved myself in the arms  
of that lovely little Tipishquina.

On hearing me sing, she sang  
 At seeing me cry, she cried  
 That lovely little Tipishquina  
 has no need to escape from my arms.

The community as a social unit is easily conceptualized since it is also a geographic unit. The most frequent formal soccer game, excluding the informal groups which spring up nearly every day in the summer, is with other communities. At such soccer games, many of the contradictions of race, social class, and inter-village rivalry are temporarily resolved as patrons, poor white-mestizos, and "apellidos humildes" (humble surnames) play with startling and frequently violent intensity. Broken bones, shin gashes, and huge swellings are common. The Tipishquinos suffer a good deal in these exchanges since most of them play without shoes. At least 180 man-days a year are lost through injuries incurred in inter-community soccer, injuries born cheerfully and stoically.

#### Shamanism and Cocamilla Identity

Cocamilla identity is most strongly expressed in the extremely culturally conservative sphere of shamanism and curing. Each of the major Cocamilla communities has several shamans. It is probable that each sangre had,



in the past, one or more shamans in each community. During the barbasco boom, Achual Tipishca had at least six shamans, one from each major sangre. Either men or women can be shamans but women seldom enter the field.

Many shamans have a parent who was a shaman. Since shamans frequently use the spirits of dead shamans to help cure, the shamanistic cult tends to have the character of an ancestor cult at times, providing continuity with the past.

The quintessential shamanistic talent is to "incorporate"; to develop the ability to allow the body to be taken over by other spirits, either human or non-human. The human spirits will nearly always be dead shamans, usually in the shaman's own sangre. Non-human spirits can be either human-like "demons" (yacuruna or one of several forest demons) or may be the spirits of plants or animals in the animistic pantheon. When the body is incorporated, the shaman's own spirit departs the body, and control is lost. The shaman's spirit requires at such times additional spirits as guardians. The ability of the Cocamilla shaman is directly assessed by the number of curing songs (icaros) he or she knows. The icaros of the Cocamilla are traditional. These songs should ideally be

sung in the Cocama language. A shaman who had not the mastery of the language cannot be a strong Cocamilla shaman, although clientele may be found among white-mestizos or more assimilated Indians. The voices of the departed shamans always speak in the Cocama language.

Shamanism is strong all over the region, not simply among the Cocamilla, and in large towns has reached the stage of becoming rather chic. Sessions in urban areas are frequently attended by government officials, social scientists, and anyone else who is interested. Secularization of the curing ritual (a hallucinogenic ritual in most cases, involving the use of *banisteriopsis caapi* and/or *datura* species) has proceeded to the point that the drug is actually sold to the participants. Shamans are frequently self-called and self-taught. Icaros are personal and individual rather than traditional (Dobkin de Rios, 1972).

The ritual of curing in Achual Tipishca, on the other hand, has the character of a communal cult. Fees are charged to sick persons who wish to be cured, but sessions are often attended by community members who simply wish the mentally and physically cleansing effect of the hallucinogen. It is locally called in Spanish la purga, the purgative. After a session, while sick persons sleep,

the people who have participated may stay up with the shaman and talk the rest of the night discussing their experience and what they were able to see. The session itself is a cult performance by the shaman who may sing, speak with spirit voices, rattle leaves, and cure for four or five hours without pause. The other participants are silent.

Without a separate treatise on curing, it is enough to point out that shamanism has an important ideological function for the Cocamilla. Outsiders do not normally attend curing sessions. Many of the "spirit discussions" deal with matters internal to the social organization of the community (i.e., attacks on other local shamans from other sangres, advice on who is making one ill). The exclusive shamanistic sphere seems to give the Cocamilla in Achual Tipishca an area of cultural behavior in which they can act out their identity as Cocamilla. The long familiarity of the Cocamilla with the realities of white-mestizo/Cocamilla relations creates the situation. Cocamilla identity is stigmatized while Cocamilla society persists, partly because of discrimination. The society expresses its own identity in rituals which tend to be exclusive. Friction within the regional stratification system is minimized by

this sealing-off of an unpopular identity, and the regional and national economic system in which the Cocamilla participate can flow on, relatively unimpeded.

Of course it will be recognized that such a cultural solution to a historical problem must leave psychological scars on both the discriminators and those discriminated against. Cocamilla, since the barbasco boom, have been increasingly forced to adopt several simultaneous behavioral modes with accompanying signs of individual and cultural schizophrenia, i.e., there is a noticeable generation gap in Achual Tipishca and younger people frequently express ambivalence and confusion about their cultural identities.

### The Fiesta System

The Jesuits left the Cocamilla with a system of holidays and celebrations which has been extremely persistent. It is clear from modern Cocamilla lore that the imprint of the fiesta system in Cocamilla culture was both early and profound. According to living Tipishquinos, the measurement of time during the annual cycle was in months (yatsi, meaning moon; the original cycle was undoubtedly lunar months), and the months had the names of the Catholic fiestas. Table 10.1 shows a partial reconstruction of the

Table 10.1

## Partial Reconstruction of the Annual Calendar

Month	Cocamilla/Spanish	English
January	Reyes yatsi	Three Kings month
February	Mitan yatsi	Carnival month
March	?	?
April	Pascua yatsi	Easter month
May	Corpus Cristi yatsi	Body of Christ month
June	San Juan yatsi	Saint John month
July	Virgin del Carmen yatsi	Virgin of Carmen month
August	Santa Rosa yatsi	Saint Rose of Lima month
September	Verano yatsi	Summer month (time to clear and burn fields)
October and November	Chamura yatsi	Dead months (for Day of the Dead)
December	Navidad yatsi	Christmas month

cycle. In this reconstruction the yatsi refer to our own calendar months rather than to the original lunar months.

Appendix V describes the major festivals as they were practiced a generation ago. The present festivals have lost much of their historical character. The most important festivals today are Day of the Dead, Christmas, Carnival, and Saint Rose of Lima. Three Kings, Saint John's, and the Virgin of Carmen are still celebrated but not elaborately. The changing of the Varayos takes place each year as in the past. The celebration of Easter in Holy Week has disappeared completely in Achual Tipishca. Its disappearance coincides with the introduction of jute as a cash crop. The first mayordomo migrated one year without "passing on" the festival (one "receives" the festival from one's predecessor by accepting part of the food collected for the current festival, the part set aside for the new volunteers for the next year's festival). The celebration of Holy Week could be reinstated but most people are too busy washing jute at that time of year to bother. Corpus Cristi has also disappeared in Achual Tipishca, also because of the emigration of a mayordomo. It is still practiced in Lagunas in the Cocamilla barrio and in Arahuate.



The contribution made by the fiesta cycle to social cohesion and integration is great. A large part of the self-identification as Cocamilla is involved with it. Cocamilla who have migrated from Tipishca to settle on the Marañón River come back each year to the lower Huallaga River valley for the Day of the Dead and sometimes for Christmas. It will be recalled that Lagunas, at several points in its history, became a sort of ceremonial center. People dispersed through much of the year to avoid oppression from the political authorities and to practice agriculture, coming to Lagunas only for festivals. A community which has no fiesta cycle, in the opinion of many Cocamilla, is very close to being non-Cocamilla. "They have no fiestas. They live like any other," they will say of some of the new Cocamilla settlements.

#### Other Boundary-Maintaining Customs

Several customs related to the life cycle have important functions in maintaining Cocamilla identity. At birth, the father of the baby (or his nearest male relative if he is not present) goes through a period of drunkenness and celebration which is called by the Quechua word ishpa. Many younger men only practice a token ishpa now. The ishpa

does not require that the father involve others in his condition; he celebrates alone or with a compadre.

The yacucheo (water of salvation in Quechua) is a native baptism rite closely related to the Catholic baptism. The godfather of the child in the ritual sprinkles water over the head of the child, affirming the relation of co-parent with the child's parent. This custom is widely distributed in groups identified here with the cholada. Its significance in terms of identity is that it is not generally practiced by white-mestizos. It is, of course, also significant as a ritual which binds co-parents together, frequently co-parents from different social classes.

The lampta tipina (Quechua ?) or hair-cutting ceremony is aboriginal and widely distributed. Its social function is to incorporate the Cocamilla male child into the society. It is carried out at the time the child has developed his verbal ability and has thereby become fully human. Female children do not receive a hair-cutting ceremony. Although in the past there was a lengthy puberty ceremony for females at the time of first menstruation, present custom demands only that they isolate themselves in their houses for a period of about a week.

Marriages are presently of an informal kind since the community is largely abandoned by the church and the civil authorities are far away. The actual marriage does not serve to distinguish the Cocamilla ideologically but the negotiations between families are an important forum for expressing patrilocal values and the proper Cocamilla relationship between man and wife (the wife is supposed to be submissive, cooperative, and economically powerless as well as being a hard worker).

Death requires a wake as in most Catholic traditions. It is highly significant that at the velorio, as the wake is called, many tales are told which express Cocamilla beliefs about spirits and the relation of the dead to the living. The presence of death literally in the house makes such lessons highly memorable to young Cocamilla.

Even assimilated Cocamilla fondly recall the sacada del enfermo as being rather a sine qua non of their Cocamilla identity. This ritual is a rite of reincorporation of the gravely ill person into normal society. It is always done for people recovering from snakebite, and now and again for other illnesses. In the case of snakebite the ritual involves stamping "S" shaped designs with genipa dye on the person recovering from the illness as well as the

guests at the party. Dancing and drinking ensues until the first roosters of the village crow. At that time all the participants troop to the lake for a ritual bath, and a wooden model of a snake is beaten "to death" at lake's edge and left there. The party then may continue for a day or two. The ill person is considered, after such a party, to be ready to resume a normal role in society.

### Summary

To summarize, the inclusion of unassimilated and detribalized native groups into the class system of the Peruvian state creates a complex "layering" of identities. Native identity can only be acted out in somewhat exclusive ceremonies. The limitation of the arenas for the acting-out of native identity roles permits the regional social and economic system to function with a minimum of friction. In the past when native identity was more public, more force was required to maintain the contradictions of race, class, and economic power inherent in the inclusion of such native groups. It should be noted that in less autocratic states, ethnic minorities may be permitted more freedom to express their identities.

The Cocamilla have a number of identity layers which are acted out in roles in appropriate circumstances. The most important cultural institutions in terms of maintaining their identity as Cocamilla are shamanism and the life cycle rituals. The Catholic fiesta cycle serves as the major integrative rites, maintaining to some degree the entire ethnic group as a social unit. Complete integration of the Cocamilla native ethnic group is now impossible because of the numbers of Cocamilla who are attempting to assimilate into the white-mestizo society, however unsuccessfully, and who have rejected Cocamilla custom.

The most important part of Cocamilla identity in a sociological sense is the clear recognition by them of membership in a social class which is neither Indian in its own concept or white-mestizo in either their own or the white-mestizo concept. This cholo class of detribalized but unassimilated Indians, composed of mostly Cocamilla on the lower Huallaga, is highly significant in a political sense since it results from the blocks to assimilation placed by Loreto social structure. If ethnic consciousness is to be a potent political factor in Loreto's future, this class will increase in importance.

## CHAPTER XI

### ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The first part of this dissertation was directed toward tracing the historical relationships between the Cocamilla and the dominant and developing society which became the nation-state of Peru. The Cocamilla were one of the first native ethnic groups in the Mainas missions to be placed in the mission villages (reducciones) yet they have been the most persistent native survivors in the Huallaga River valley. Their history has theoretical as well as human significance. From the perspective of cultural materialism an examination of their past clarifies some of these theoretical points.

First, such a perspective insists that determined relations of production give rise to determined social forms and determined values and ideals rationalizing (and sometimes masking) social realities. In turn the social forms and ideologies feed back into the productive processes, changing them and being changed by them in an ongoing dialectical process. In that context it cannot



be stressed too strongly that over their history the Cocamilla have continued to subsist on the floodplains of the lower Huallaga and other Amazon tributaries. The technology of their subsistence has changed only recently with the introduction of larger nets and the circular casting net. Their production has been socially organized around the highly flexible unit of the semi-independent extended family household at least since the conquest even though the size of the household has varied. They have been pressed into service as canoemen and explorers, and their labor and its products have been persistently parasitized by others over the years. The reason it could be parasitized successfully for so long is that the Cocamilla exploitation of the river valley resources is and was highly successful. Until very recently it was not improved on by anyone in the region. Even aboriginally, large groups of men could be absent for a few months in the flood season for war. Thus the use of large numbers of Cocamilla as canoemen for explorers and later commercial traders did not in itself destroy the native adaptation.

The preservation of the Cocamilla adaptation to the river environment because of the necessities of provisioning and transporting the encroaching white-mestizos has no

parallels in the Huallaga Valley. The inland groups, especially, saw their subsistence systems shattered, their villages completely destroyed and reorganized. As cultures they never recovered from this blow although biologically they still form an important part of the region's gene pool. Also in this context it should be emphasized that the recent rapid changes in Cocamilla culture are correlated with the actual occupation of their lands and communities by white-mesitzos and the shift from using them as provisioning units for white-mestizo sectors to their use as peons in field work for the barbasco patrons.

To imply that there were no material obstacles to the survival of the Cocamilla at the level of the essential subsistence economy is not to say that they or any other ethnic group in similar circumstances will survive. Obviously other factors enter into the picture at this point. As the history of the Cocamilla shows, direct domination by white-mestizos who actually occupied Cocamilla communities such as Achual Tipishca acted as a powerful solvent in accelerating culture change. In all of the towns and villages where the outside society was able to shatter the internal political order of native communities the Indians disappeared as ethnic groups. Clearly this

could not have happened if the Cocamilla had had territorial integrity as has been the case with some groups of Brazilian Indians since 1910. Thus the lack of legally recognized land and juridical personality looms as crucial in the recent rapid destruction of the culture.

The question of the relations between the internal cohesion of the social unit and its resistance to destruction is an interesting one. It seems to be the case today that the Cocama are much less willing than the Cocamilla to identify themselves as an ethnic group (although closer study of the Cocama might change this impression), and are less culturally "conservative." The most obvious factor which separated the two groups historically is that the Cocama, after leaving Lagunas around the time of Independence, formed smaller social units which were more easily dominated by the 19th and 20th century patrons. The larger Cocamilla towns retained a highly individualized fiesta cycle which integrated the ethnic group and expressed, in part, its individuality. Of the Indians who did not select retreat as an adaptive strategy it seems to have been the mission Indians who survived as ethnic groups, perhaps because of, not in spite of, their Catholicism.

The ethnic identity of the Cocamilla seems to be changing fairly rapidly in recent years. These changes are directly related to their perception that being natives may not be an effective way to enjoy the "benefits" which they perceive that white-mestizos enjoy. This perception was, in turn, generated by two main material factors. The first was long-term downward mobility on the part of white-mestizos after the rubber boom and after the barbasco boom. This was generated, in turn, by trends in the gradual development of the region, trends which encourage a "boom and bust" economy, even today. The downward mobility tended to destroy the occupational complementarity which had characterized the two sectors. For the first time in their history the Cocamilla and white-mestizos were competing at the subsistence level for the same fishing grounds, the same lands. Up to this time the white-mestizos tended to have quite different economic roles than the Cocamilla did, a complementary situation which discouraged open conflict. With downward mobility, however, the Cocamilla began little by little to be crowded for land close to the communities and especially fishing rights to the lakes. Without land rights the Cocamilla began to see that their ancient subsistence patterns could no longer guarantee them a good

life. The inter-ethnic frictions which were generated by white-mestizo/Cocamilla competition within a single niche created in turn the stigmatized cholo identification and increased dissatisfaction.

The second factor was the introduction of the Peruvian school system in Cocamilla communities. The schools helped to stigmatize Cocamilla identity even as they educated the Cocamilla children to other cultural patterns and provided the literacy which was one of the keys (or so the Cocamilla supposed) to the fulfillment of new desires. Mestizo models were constantly paraded before them.

### Today's Cocamilla

In terms of modern Cocamilla history, the last three chapters attempted to analyze synchronically the present relations between the Cocamilla and the region/nation as a result of their history and their current position in the social stratification system as part of the cholada. This analysis took the form of identifying "problems" which were related to the interface between the community of Achual Tipishca and the regional economic and social system. Looming large in that discussion was the historical separation of the Cocamilla from non-Christian Indians, their degree

of acculturation, and the failure of Loreto society to assimilate them. This situation has created a social class of cholos, selvatic Indian peasants (in a narrow economic, i.e., subsistence oriented farmers who sell surpluses to urban markets), a social class which on the lower Huallaga River is largely formed by the Cocamilla. The curious paradox of their position is that while forming enclaves of native communities judged by the criteria of socio-political organization and economy, they are fully integrated into a regional/national class system. Thus, the contradictions in Loreto of race, wealth, and culture are particularly acute for the Cocamilla. It is highly ironic that after surviving for so long as a culture, they are now unable to benefit from government programs designed for native Americans. This problem is brought about because of ignorance on the part of the state authorities about the history and sociology of Loreto; a condition it is hoped that this volume will help to relieve.

At the core of their problems with the state are two factors. The extremely haphazard economic development of the region and the consequent lack of coordination and planning of the economic institutions is a basic problem. The relations between the Tipishquinos and the Agrarian



Bank exemplify exemplify the case. The bank has no responsibility for economic planning. Local communities suffer for the lack of coordination between banks which stimulate production and banks which deal with product transformation. Much less does the bank have the welfare of the local populace as a whole in mind. The stimulation of fibre production at the expense of food production in the region shows a complete lack of understanding of the historical "boom and bust" cycles of the single crop economy and a gross failure to appreciate the social and economic benefits of balanced development. At the heart of all of this, to be sure, is Loreto's status as an internal colony of Peru. The haphazard and, in human terms, careless planning of Loreto's economic development is starkly dramatized by the government's failure to protect the food supply of the Cocamilla and other natives. The eventual result may be starving people into migration to the cities.

The second basic problem is that the nature of the Cocamilla adaptation to the physical and socio-political environment has produced politically acephalous egalitarian communities. These communities are at all points diametrically opposed to the authoritarian hierarchical bureaucracies of the state. The egalitarian kinship-based

economic and social organization of most of the Cocamilla communities can never function smoothly in the current socio-political and economic environment. Until recently it was not required to change as long as individuals worked for and paid tribute to the members of the dominant society. Now it is being asked to change into a social form which is its opposite--without being given the material basis for that change. Consequently there is much friction with school officials, bank officials, and political and military officials, to say nothing of frustration and anger on the part of the Cocamilla rural community members.

### The Future of the Cocamilla

The only way "speaking of the future" can make sense is to project the trajectory of current social and economic realities. The recent history of the Cocamilla has been one of rapid culture change and accompanying social fragmentation and anomie. Urban migration and escalating social problems are the result. Urban migration appears to be on the increase although the populations of the barrios of the selvatic cities may be more fluid in terms of the ability to re-enter the farming life than coastal migrants. Iagunas, for example, which grew at an annual rate of over 6% from

1970 to 1975, actually shrank in size as the oil companies left and many former wage laborers moved back into the rural zones to make fields. While a 6% growth may not be intolerable to a city with some sort of industrial base, conditions in Loreto are such that a doubling time of 12 years created by this growth rate is a serious problem if the migrants cannot provide their own subsistence.

Nothing about the trends of development in eastern Peru indicates that the economic and social forces which have been affecting the Cocamilla so strongly are about to abate. The general status of Loreto as a "colony" from which raw materials are extracted in an extremely lop-sided economy is likely to continue. If it does, and if nothing is done for the enclaves to predict the gradual destruction of their society as they are forced by bank debts, desires for education, and eventual protein starvation to migrate to the urban areas. Such migration would accelerate the trend toward making them underpaid wage laborers and fish suppliers to urban markets. This projection does not imply their eventual assimilation into white-mestizo culture but only the destruction of their means of providing a viable alternative to that culture. One can easily see them in twenty years concentrated in the new barrios, the pueblos

jovenes (young towns), the urban satellites of the Peruvian lowland tropical cities still maintaining a separate society, but materially even worse off than they are today. At least today, they have the means of providing their own subsistence.

The major factors which could change this rather dismal picture would be to give the rural native communities of the Cocamilla land and exclusive fishing rights in the areas in which they are now concentrated. These rights would be granted to them as communities, and could be given to them under law #20653 if the law were changed to include the rights of native communities to the protein sources they need for subsistence. Under the present laws water rights are the property of the state. Under the proposed change they would be granted to native communities.

The guarantee of these rights would provide the Cocamilla with the basis for economic and cultural survival. Again, this is not to say that they would survive as a culture, only that the material bases for their survival would be present. As Gomes' (1977) study of the Tenetehara Indians of Brazil showed, the question of territorial rights is paramount in the stimulation of a praxis of defense on the basis of ethnic identity.

On a less grand scale, there are a number of measures which can and should be taken to ease the burden born by the Cocamilla as native enclaves in the class structure. The recognition on the part of the state that the unassimilated native enclaves do, in fact, represent a social stratum in Loreto with particular disadvantages vis á vis their participation in the economy would help. Encouragement of their social forms of production and distribution would help. Programs of scholarships for educating Cocamilla teachers would also help. Changes in the administration of rural credit to recognize problems of time and distance in river travel would benefit all rural Loretanos. An agency which would develop markets on the coast for manioc starch and plantain flour would stimulate healthy development of the rural agricultural economy by providing an outlet for crops which are also staple subsistence crops.

The fundamental problem is not one of education, either on the part of the Cocamilla or on the part of the government. If the question were put to the individual Cocamilla, they could instantly go to the heart of the matter. The material conditions of rural Cocamilla life are unsatisfactory. They are discriminated against socially and economically. Their lands are threatened, their lakes

overexploited by outsiders. They are in debt to the agrarian bank, they pay exorbitant prices for everything they buy and they receive low prices for everything they sell, including their labor. Even prices supported by the agrarian bank do not begin to keep up with inflation which now approaches 80% each year. These problems require fundamental re-organization of the Loreto economy which in turn responds to national and international market pressures. Ultimately the Cocamilla are connected to all of us by the invisible network of economic and social relationships which link the modern world. Their survival in that world may be of no great consequence in global terms. In human terms, however, their survival may be more than symbolic. When we have learned to protect the rights of the least, the rights of all may be less threatened.



## APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN TERMS

## APPENDIX I

### GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN TERMS

Abuela(o): Spanish term for grandparent. In Cocamilla usage the term is applied to the parents of persons ego calls tio or tia as well as the lineal grandparents.

Agente Municipal: Municipal Agent, an authority position in Peruvian towns. The municipal agent is responsible for the day to day affairs of the town. His authority stems from the district and departmental councils rather than directly from the president of the nation as is the case with the lieutenant governor, the other authority position in modern Peru.

Aguardiente: Literally, firewater in Spanish. A cane liquor which is equivalent in potency to "moonshine" in the United States.

Aguano: An Indian group which inhabited the inland forest east of the lower Huallaga River. The language spoken by the Aguano was probably a member of the Arawakan linguistic family. The Aguano and the Chamicuro were closely related groups although at the time of contact they were hostile towards each other.

Alcalde: Roughly translated as mayor, the native alcaldes in the lowland missions served as representatives of their ethnic group and helped the priest maintain order.

Alguacil: One of the lower positions in the mission hierarchy. Responsibilities of the alguaciles included cleaning and errands.

Alma: Spanish term for soul. In the usage of the missions an alma was equivalent to a Christian Indian.

Altura: An elevation in the lowland forest areas which does not flood from the rise in the river during flood season.

Apellido alto/bajo: High and low surnames. The Cocamilla use this terminology to refer to the distinction between "native" or Indian surnames and Spanish or European surnames.

Arcabuce: Spanish firearm, the Arquebus.

Arroba: A unit of volume and weight measure (11.5 kilograms).

Bajial: Literally, low lands. The term is used in two ways among the Cocamilla. It refers in a generic sense to any land which is subject to flooding and in a specific sense to floodplain land which is not swampy and which is not on the riverbank.

Balata: An elastic gum produced by a tree which is a member of the manikara genus.

Banda: The zone of land which is immediately adjacent to the margins of the river. This land is normally slightly higher than the lands which form the rest of the floodplain.

Barbado: In the usage of the Spanish, the leather thongs with metal pendants which hung from the perforated lower lip of the Cocama man. These were like the decorations on the bits of horses.

Barbasco: A root used for fish poison. Barbasco became very important to the lower Huallaga region during and after the second world war when it was raised as a base for insecticide (lonchocarpus nicou).

Barbudo: Literally, bearded in Spanish. The Spanish used this term to refer to the group of Indians called Mayoruna in Quechua, speakers of a Panoan language. The Mayoruna in the Mainas missions were first known to inhabit the area east of the Huallaga River and south of the Aguano-Chamicuro group. This group no longer exists but other Panoan Indians called Mayoruna still inhabit lands east of the Ucayali River.

Barreal: A river beach which has a deposit of clay on it. Barreales are suitable for planting many crops, among them beans and rice.

Barrio: A sector of a village or town. The barrios in the lowland mission towns were each occupied by distinct ethnic groups. Barrios in modern towns sometimes retain that character but in Cocamilla towns barrios may reflect social divisions in the community which are not based on ethnicity.

Bebida: The term in the context here refers to manioc beer or corn beer.

Cabildo: The council of authorities in the mission towns.

Caboclo: Brazilian term for the social category of rural and rustic frontiersmen.

Cachibango: Mosquito nets made from palm fibre pounded out.

Cacique: A chief. The Spanish were under the misapprehension that native villages had chiefs in the Peruvian lowlands. They applied this term to native leaders.

Camarico: Literally, bed of riches. The reference is to an offering of food made to the priests at certain times of the year.

Cambio: An exchange. In Cocamilla usage a cambio may be the exchange of a marriageable woman from one family for one from another family.

Camiseta: The reference here is to the long loose garments worn by the Cocama and Omagua at contact.

Camote: Sweet Potato (Ipomoea Batatas).

Campesino: A peasant. This term has been selected in post-1968 Peru to refer to all persons who are subsistence farmers who sell surpluses to the market and who also raise cash crops at times. The term is meant to replace terms based on racial/cultural differences which may have pejorative connotations. Unfortunately many government officials now try to ignore racial/cultural differences among the campesinos and pretend that the campesino category is somehow a homogeneous one.

Canto: A song. In the context of this work a curing song.

Caño: A canal which connects inland lakes of the floodplain to the active river channel.

Capitan: An authority position which replaced the native leader called cacique or curaca in many lowland towns. The capitan is now the head of the village varayos.

Cara: Wild or semi-cultivated yam. Called Sachapapa in Quechua (*Discorea* Sp.).

Carnaval: The celebration which precedes Lent.

Casabe: Spanish term for the flat manioc cake. Called meio in the Cocama language.

Castillo: A wood construction in the lowland mission fiestas which was decorated and adorned with small gifts and food. The contents of the castillo were distributed to the populace by the fiscales.

Cauchero: A rubber-gatherer.

Cauchó: A term used all over the Amazon basin to refer to the gum used as a base for rubber (*Castilloa ulei*).

Ceja: Spanish term which refers to the cloud forest zone on the eastern side of the Andes. The term literally means eyebrow and is used metaphorically.



Chama: Term used on the Ucayali River to refer to any of the Indian groups which populate that river. Most of the so-called Chamas belong to one or another of the Panoan language groups. The term is used scornfully by white-mestizos.

Chamicuro: See Aguano. The Chamicuro inhabited the lands east of the Huallaga River and north of their close relatives, the Aguano. They were settled at a mission village called San Xavier de Chamicuros which was not abandoned until the rubber boom of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Today there are probably 60-80 people who understand the language and most of them live in Pampa Hermosa on the lower Huallaga River.

Chaupiguata: Half-year in Quechua. The reference is to semi-annual offerings to the Church.

Chicha: Corn beer. A drink found in all parts of Peru but its importance diminished in the lowland tropics where it is secondary to manioc beer.

Chipeo: This group is probably the same as the modern Shipibo. The archaic spelling is retained in this work to avoid confusion and to coincide with the spellings in the chronicles. Also spelled Chepeo. The Chipeo are speakers of a Panoan language.

Cholada: Pejorative term which refers to the Indians of the lowland forest who are "civilized" or Christian. In the rest of Peru the term has various other meanings ranging from "rustics" to upwardly mobile Quechua peasants or small businessmen whose roots are in peasant communities.

Cholo: An individual member of the cholada.

Chusma: Archaic Spanish term which refers to the aggregate population of women and children. Native groups were counted in terms of the adult males who could fight (indios de lanza) and the chusma (women and children).

Cocha: Lake in Quechua.

Compadre: Co-parent in Spanish. The compadre relation comes about when a person accepts the responsibility of being a god-parent to a child. One is then a co-parent of the child's parents.

Correria: A round-up of Indians during the conquest and during the rubber boom. In a correria, Indians were attacked and enslaved on the pretext that they had committed an offense against the Spanish or Portuguese society.

Cristiano: A Christian. The term is used by the Cocamilla almost in the sense of being human. They will say of a forest demon, for example, that it is not a Christian. The tribal Indians are not considered to be Cristianos and thus are scarcely human.

Curaca: Quechua term for a leader. Equivalent to the term Cacique.

Dialecto: The Spanish term for nearly any language of the tropical forest Indians. The implication is that these languages are somehow not "real" languages.

Diezmo: Literally, the tenth. The reference here is to the collections of tribute imposed by the governors on the Christian Indians.

Encomienda: A trust of Indians to Spanish conquistadores. The Encomendero was responsible for making his charges Christians. In return he was granted the fruits of their labor. The Mainas Indians were one of the few lowland tropical forest Indians of Peru to have been granted in encomienda to the Borja Spanish.

Entrada: An expedition to locate and pacify Indians.

Envidia: Envy. Envidia is a major cause of social friction among village people, and many kinds of illnesses are believed to have their origin in the envy of one's neighbors.

Estólica: The spear-thrower or atlatl.

Fariña: Crushed and dehydrated manioc which has been toasted in large pans called blandonas. Fariña is one of the tastier ways to preserve manioc.

Fieles: The faithful or Christian Indians of the lowlands. The term is no longer used.

Fiesta: A festival, usually but not always connected with the observance of the Catholic ritual cycle.

Fiscal: A man appointed on a yearly basis by a priest to assist in affairs of maintaining and supplying the church.

Gente Blanca: White people. The reference in this work is to people with Spanish or other European surnames who migrated into the lower Huallaga area in order to seek profits from the barbasco industry.

Hacendado: The owner of the hacienda.

Hacienda: In the lowland tropics an institution which included an agricultural subsistence base and extractive operations. Indians were in debt to the owners of the haciendas who sold them products, often at inflated prices in order to force them to work.

Huito: The Quechua word for the black dye and the fruit of the plant called genipap in Brazil and Yanipa in Cocamilla (genipa brasiliensus).

Húmisha: A pole which is decorated and adorned with small gifts and erected at certain festival occasions in the lowlands. Among the Cocamilla the húmisha is seen only at carnaval. The pole is felled by men and women dancing around it and a melee ensues to collect the prizes.

Icaro: A curing song.

Idiomero: A somewhat derogatory reference to a person who speaks a native language.

Indio: A highly pejorative term used by most Loretanos to refer to "tribal" Indians.

Indio de Lanza: An archaic Spanish term to refer to adult males among Indian groups who were old enough to fight in battles. Probably refers to males over 15.

Infieles: Infidels. The term was used to refer to the Indians during the conquest who had not been pacified and placed in mission villages.

Irapaya: An unidentified plant with three long leaves in palmate arrangement. Used to thatch houses.

Ishpa: Quechua word to refer to the custom of a 24 hour or longer period of inebriation which a father is supposed to go through upon the birth of a child of either sex.

Jebe: An elastic tree resin from the *hevea brasiliensis*. Called also Shiringa.

Ladino: The usage in eastern Peru was originally to refer to an Indian who had become acculturated to European customs.

Lampta Tipina: Quechua (?) word which refers to the ceremony of first hair-cutting practiced by the Cocamilla on male children after they begin to speak.

Lienzo: Cotton cloth for clothing. See also Lona, Tocuyo.

Lingua Franca: A common language in a multi-lingual area. Quechua was the lingua franca of the lowland tropical forest Indians after the conquest.

Lona: Another term for cotton cloth.

Macana: Cocama word for the war-club.

Mal de Gente: Ill feelings from one's social environment which are believed to be responsible for illness and death.

Mandi: A tuber with arrowhead-shaped leaves (*xanthosoma sagittifolium*).

Maparina: A group of Indians probably speaking an Arawakan rather than a Panoan language. Sometimes called Panos in the literature which is a source of much confusion. Aboriginally they seem to have been closely related to the Cocama of the Ucayali. They are even said to have lived in the Cocama villages. Perhaps a client group which attached itself to the Cocama for protection.

Masato: Manioc beer. A beverage highly prized by the Indians of the upper Amazon basin.

Mayordomo: Person responsible for putting on a fiesta. The mayordomo and his assistants are responsible for providing food and drink to the community while a fiesta is on-going among other duties.

Mayoruna: See Barbudos.

Meio: See Casabe. Cocama word for a flat roasted manioc cake.

Mijano: The migration of fish from lakes and tributaries into the mainstream of the tropical forest rivers.

Minga: A work party. The host or "owner" of the work to be done invites friends and close relatives to aid in the work. The host supplies two meals and masato to the workers and there is usually a party after the work is complete.

Mitavero: A man who is assigned or who volunteers to provide wild meat, hunted from the forests. Meat is called mitayo in much of the lowland forest. The term comes from the word mita which meant an assignment of Indians in the highlands to work on projects for the Spanish and before them, the Inca.

Mixto: In Spanish colonial times and thereafter a person of mixed European and Indian blood. Roughly equivalent to the term Mestizo when used in a "racial" sense, however, it is important to note that mestizo and white-mestizo are used here in the cultural sense, not in a racial sense.



Montaña: Used generally in Peru to refer to the entire area of eastern Peru, including what is sometimes called the ceja or cloud-forest zone and the selva or lowland forest.

Padres de Familia: Parents of Family. The organization of heads of households which acts as a support group for rural Peruvian schools. Among the Cocamilla the organizations are all male. Among Lagunas white-mestizos the organizations are mostly composed of women.

Paiche: Called Pirarucu in Brazil. The largest freshwater fish in the world (Arapaima Gigas).

Pampanilla: A short skirt which Cocamilla women wore. The pampanilla extended from the waist to the knees.

Pano: Used in the historical literature to refer to the Maparina Indians. In Lagunas, the Pano barrio was not composed of Panoan speaking Indians as might be expected, but rather Maparina and Itucalles. In at least one source, Pano refers to the present day Setebo Indians.

Panoan: Term referring to any one of several groups which speak languages which are members of the Panoan linguistic family. In this work the panoans include the Chipeo, Mayoruna, and Xitipo Indians.

Peste: A disease. Probably smallpox in most of the Jesuit literature.

Pieza: Literally, a piece of fish as used here. The term probably meant a flayed and salted fish in the 19th century. An earlier usage was during the conquest when a pieza referred to an individual or group of Indians who had been pacified and who were moved about and put to work.



Pishtako: A Quechua word which refers to a demon which is believed to hunt Indians in order to melt them down for their grease. The Spanish, in fact, were known to have rendered Indians for axle grease and the fears and legends which this practice gave rise to penetrated even the lowlands.

Playa: A beach. In the context here, a river beach which is sandy and not good for crops. Playa also refers to the square of white sand in front of many lowland homes.

Policía: The archaic usage of this term was to refer to order or government. The Indians were said to have no policía in the sense that they were ungoverned by anything but their passions (or so the Spanish thought).

Pongo: Used here in two senses. The word means gate or door in Quechua and is used in the lowlands to refer to the places where rivers which originate in the Andes pass through the final mountain barrier to enter the relatively flat lowlands, a tight place. The term also means "put" in Spanish and was used in the 19th century to refer to a boy assigned by the priest to run errands. We might call the same status a "go-fer."

Primo(a): Cousin in Spanish. The Cocamilla extend the use of the term to include the children of anyone called uncle or aunt.

Pueblo: Town or village.

Quebrada: A stream or small river which is a tributary to one of the large selvatic rivers.

Racionales: The "rational ones." Indians who have embraced either Christianity or have become accustomed to white-mestizo ways. The implication is that "tribal" Indians do not act rationally. See Policía.

Reducción: In the lowland tropics a mission village. The Indians were reduced in two senses. They were concentrated in mission villages which reduced the area in which they were governed. They were also "reduced to the Christian faith," a usage which derived from the belief by the early missionaries that the Indians had at a previous time been Christians but had fallen from the faith.

Regidores: One of the authority positions in some of the lowland missions. Regidores were members of the cabildo.

Rematista: A person who buys products originating in one place wholesale and resells them on a retail basis or in "detail" as the local language has it. Cocamilla who bring products to local markets usually sell them to a rematista. Many Cocamilla have worked as rematistas in Yurimaguas or Iquitos for a brief time.

Remesa: Tribute to the governors at frequent (monthly?) intervals. The term was also used during the rubber boom and afterward to refer to the quantity of rubber a worker who worked independently amassed in between the patron's collections.

Restinga: Land in the floodplain which floods only rarely. The remains of natural levees.

Ribereño: A rural riverbank resident. A rustic frontiersman of the upper Amazon. Equivalent to the Brazilian Caboclo.

Sacada del Enfermo: A Cocamilla custom in which a sick person, especially one who has been bitten by a snake is given a party to re-introduce them to non-invalid status. A rite of reincorporation into normal society after illness.

Sacarita: A channel which connects a lake of the floodplain to the main river. The sacarita is usually dry during part of the year.

Sangre: Literally, blood. In Cocamilla kinship sangre refers to the group of patrilineal kinsmen with whom ego shares the paternal surname.

Selva Alta/Baja: The distinction between the cloudforest or ceja zone and the low forest beyond the mountain borders. Selva Alta is high forest and Selva Baja is low forest.

Semanero: In the lowland missions of the 19th century an Indian who was assigned to bring dried meat on a weekly basis to the priest. His appointment was for a month at a time.

Sierra: The Peruvian highlands in this context, as well as parent's siblings.

Tahuampa: Lands in the floodplain which are swampy or which inundate at very slight rises in the elevation of the water.

Teniente: A lieutenant in the Spanish army. In modern usage the teniente is the lieutenant governor who is one of the two main authority positions in Peruvian towns and villages. The teniente acts as the representative of the president in the village and his authority comes from the prefecture of the department.

Tio(a): Uncle and Aunt. A term applied to anyone ego's parents call primo(a).

Tipití: A native manioc press. A long woven tube which is used to squeeze the juice out of crushed manioc as part of the procedure for preparing fariná.

Tipishca: Literally, cut or cut off in Quechua. In the lowland forest a tipishca is an oxbow lake. The oxbow lakes are also called cochas.

Tocuyo: Cheap white cotton cloth used for mosquito netting.

Tribu: A tribe. The term today refers to the "tribal" or relatively unacculturated Indians. It is used in a derogatory sense in most contexts.

Uca: Cocama word for house. In aboriginal context, the longhouse.

Vaca Marina: The freshwater manatee of the Amazon River basin. This mammal grazed on grass growing along the shores of rivers and lakes and weighed as much as 1000 pounds and more.

Vara: A Spanish unit of measure for cloth in the lowlands. A vara is roughly equivalent to a meter. The term also refers to the baton carried by village authorities, the varayos.

Varayo: Village authority position. Sometimes called the village "police," the varayos are responsible for good order in the community and are called upon by the agente municipal to carry out missions of importance to the community.

Vecino: A neighbor. In Spanish colonial times the term referred to the society of whites and mestizos as distinct from Indians.

Velorio: The all-night wake given for a deceased person.

Vuelta: A curve in the river.

Wiracocha: Quechua term used in the lowlands to refer to any Spanish or European person. The patrons were generally called by this term.

Xébero: An Indian group speaking a Cahuapana language which inhabited the lands west of the lower Huallaga River toward its mouth. The Xéberos were missionized very early in the conquest of the montana. The language is still alive and most of the Xéberos now live in the modern town of Jeberos.

Xitipo: Probably the modern Conibo. Speakers of a Panoan language, many of the historic Xitipo were brought to Legunas in 1670 and placed in a barrio with the Chipeo.

Yacucheo: Water of Salvation in Quechua. The term refers to a native baptism rite which is modeled on the Catholic baptism.

Yana Yacu: Black Water in Quechua. Many blackwater streams in the lowlands bear this designation.

Yarina: A palm which is used for thatch for the gables of lowland houses. It is also the plant whose presence signals land which is good for plantains and bananas (Phytelephas macrocarpa).

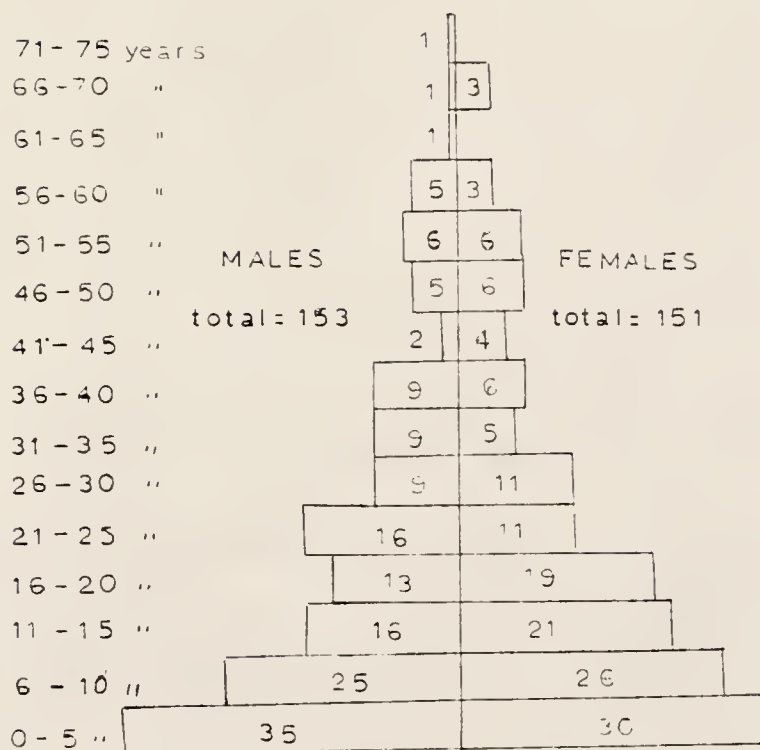
Yatsi: The Cocama word for moon. Designates month in modern usage. In aboriginal usage it was probably used to refer to the lunar month.

Yurac Yacu: White Water in Quechua. Many streams with turbid water are called by this name in the lowlands.

APPENDIX II

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS  
ACHUAL TIPISHCA

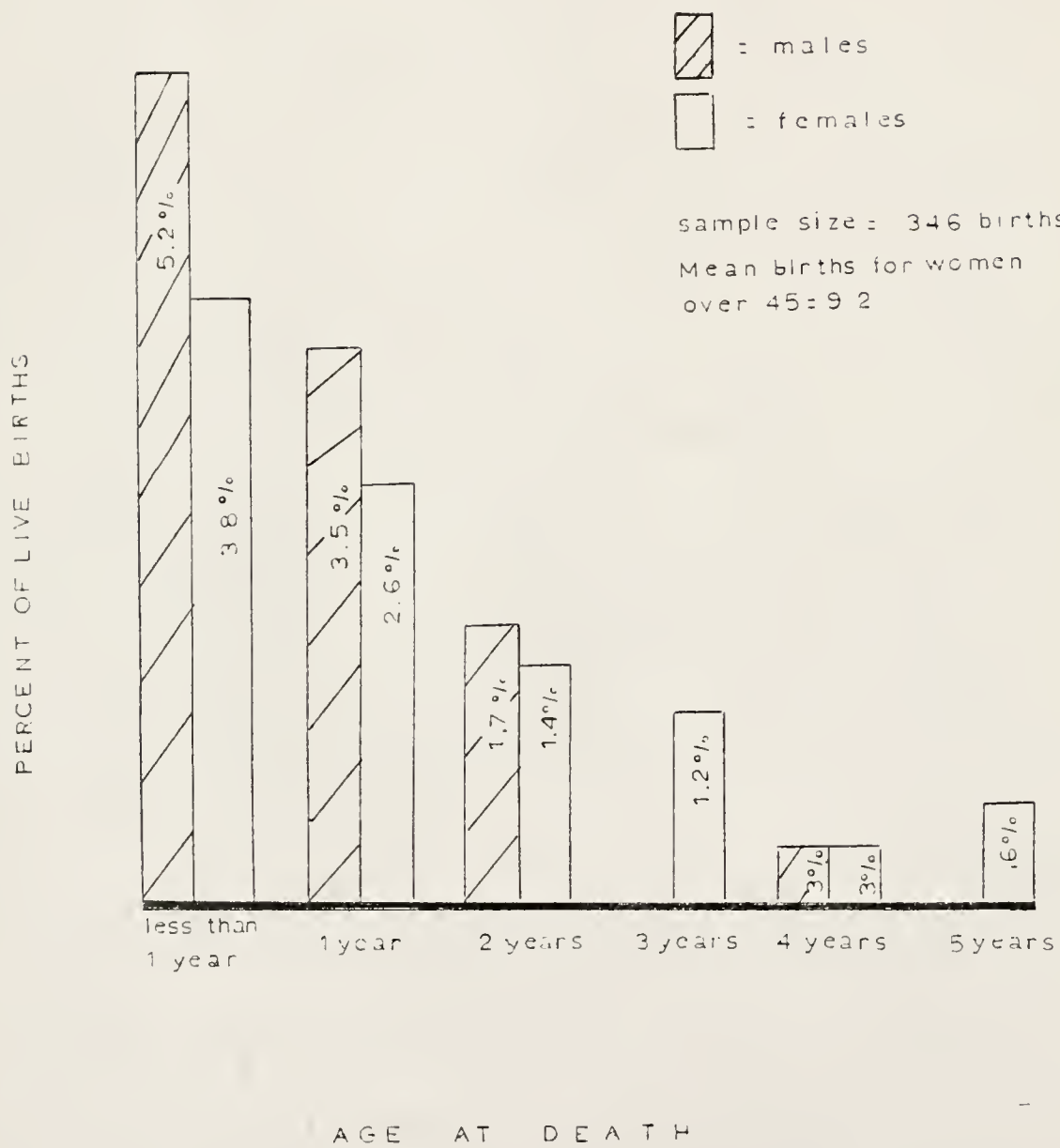




POPULATION OF ACHUAL TIPISHCA NOV. 1976

BIRTHS NOV. 1976 to NOV. 1977	= 27
DEATHS NOV 1976 to NOV. 1977	= 13
NET POPULATION GROWTH	= 4.2%
IMMIGRATION	= 10 individuals
EMIGRATION	= 24 "
NET VILLAGE GROWTH	= 0%

# CHILD MORTALITY



APPENDIX III

LIST IN SPANISH OF FOODS REGULARLY  
CONSUMED BY THE COCAMILLA

# APPENDIX III

## LIST IN SPANISH OF FOODS REGULARLY CONSUMED BY THE COCAMILLA

<u>Fish</u>	<u>Wild Meat</u>
1. Acarahuatsu	1. Achuni . . . . . monkey
2. Asnañave	2. Añuje . . . . . agouti
3. Badre	3. Carachupa . . . . . armadillo
4. Boquichico	4. Huangana . . . . . white-lipped peccary
5. Bujurque	5. Lagarto . . . . . alligator
6. Gamitana	6. Majáz . . . . . paca
7. Huasaco	7. Oso Hormiguero . . . anteater
8. Liza	8. Perdiz . . . . . game bird
9. Macana	9. Sajino . . . . . collared peccary
10. Mandín	10. Taricaya . . . . . water turtle
11. Manitoa	
12. Maparate	
13. Palometa	
14. Paña	<u>Domestic Meat</u>
15. Ractacara	1. Gallina . . . . . chicken
16. Sardina	2. Chancho . . . . . pig
17. Shuyu	3. Pato . . . . . duck
18. Tucunaré	
19. Yahuarachi	
20. Yulilla	<u>Starchy Staples</u>
21. Zúngaro	1. Arroz . . . . . rice
	2. Guineo . . . . . banana
	3. Maíz . . . . . corn
	4. Platano . . . . . plantain
	5. Sachapapa . . . . . tuber
	6. Yuca . . . . . manioc
	7. Mandi . . . . . taro

Wild Fruits

1. Aguaje . . . . . fruit of mauritia flexuosa
2. Cocona . . . . . solanum sp. fruit
3. Daledale . . . . . ??????
4. Mullaca. . . . . ??????
5. Pan del Arbol. . . . . artocarpus comunis foret
6. Ungurahui. . . . . ungurahui sp., a palm fruit

Cultivated and Semi-cultivated Fruits

1. Caimito. . . . . lucuma caimito
2. Caña . . . . . sugar cane, saccharum officinarum
3. Guava. . . . . psidium guajava
4. Guayaba. . . . . psidium pyriferum
5. Limon. . . . . lemon, citrus limon
6. Macambo. . . . . theobroma cacao
7. Mamey. . . . . mammea americana
8. Mangua . . . . . common mango
9. Naranja. . . . . sweet orange
10. Piña . . . . . pineapple, bromelia ananas
11. Palta. . . . . avocado, persea gratissima
12. Papaya . . . . . carica papaya
13. Pifuyo. . . . . peach palm, bactris espciosa
14. Toronja. . . . . grapefruit
15. Zapote . . . . . zapote
16. Sandía . . . . . watermelon

Miscellaneous Beverages

1. Café . . . . . coffee
2. Chapo. . . . . mashed ripe plantains or bananas  
and water
3. Chicha de Maía . . . . . fermented corn drink
4. Huarapo de Maduro. . . . . fermented banana drink
5. Masato de Yuca . . . . . fermented manioc drink
6. Masato de Pifayo . . . . . fermented peach palm drink
7. Shibé. . . . . farina mixed with water.
8. Aguardiente. . . . . cane liquor (fiestas and special  
occasions)
9. Cerveza. . . . . beer (luxury consumption only)

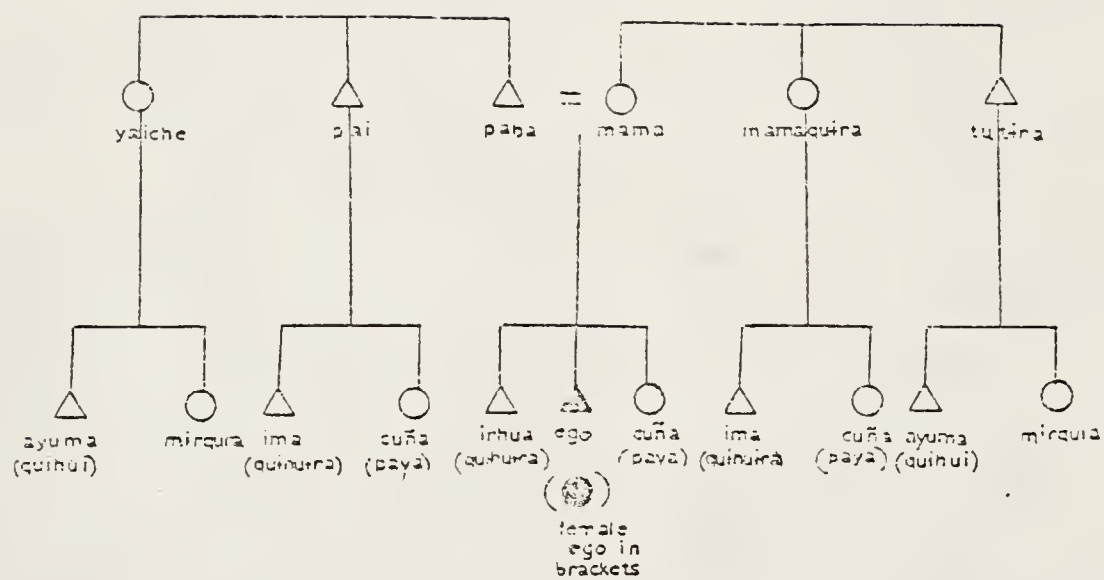
Miscellaneous Foods

1. Confites . . . . . candy (comparatively rare)
2. Chiclayo . . . . . chick peas
3. Chicle . . . . . chewing gum
4. Fariña . . . . . toasted manioc flour
5. Galleta. . . . . crackers
6. Huevo de Gallina . . chicken eggs
7. Huevo de Pescado . . fish eggs
8. Huevo de Pato. . . . duck eggs
9. Huevo de Taricava. . turtle eggs
10. Humita . . . . . cornmeal wrapped in leaves and  
steamed
11. Meio . . . . . manioc cakes
12. Pan. . . . . commercial breads (comparatively  
rare)



APPENDIX IV

COCAMILLA KINSHIP TERMS



Terms and Reciprocals Collected Include the Following:

<u>Relation</u> (Male Ego)	<u>Term</u>	<u>Reciprocal</u>
Elder Brother	iruaipan	irhuamishan
Elder Sister	cuñatua	quihui viejo
Wife	mirigua	mena
Son	(ta)ira*	papa
Daughter	(ta)ira	papa
Son's Wife	(ta)huama	tutira
Daughter's Husband	ichimari	tutira
Son's Son	rimariru	papatua
Son's Daughter	rimacuna	papatua
Younger Sister	cuñamishan	quihui
Sister's Husband	ayuma	ayuma
Brother's Wife	mirquia	menia
Mother	mama	mimira
Father	papa	taira
Mother's Sister	mamaquira	mimiria
Mother's Sister's Husband	pai	tairia
Mother's Sister's Daughter	cuña	quihuira
Mother's Sister's Daughter's Husband	?	?
Mother's Sister's Son's Wife	mirquia	menia
Mother's Brother	tutira	ichimari
Mother's Brother's Wife	yaiche	ichimari
Mother's Brother's Daughter	mirquia	quihui**
Mother's Brother's Son	ima or ayuma	ima or ayuma
Father's Brother	pai	tairia
Father's Brother's Wife	mamaquira	marmaria
Father's Brother's Son	ima	ima
Father's Brother's Daughter	cuña	quihuira
Father's Brother's Son's Wife	mirquia	menia**
Father's Brother's Daughter's Husband	?	?
Father's Sister	yaiche	ichimari
Father's Sister's Husband	tutira	ichimari
Father's Sister's Daughter	mirquia	quihui**
Father's Sister's Son	ayuma	ayuma

\*The preceding (ta) is simply a possessive prefix.

\*\*Note that while the reciprocal for parallel cousin's wife has sexual overtones (little wife, little husband), the

reciprocal for cross cousin female is the same term as brother, even though this woman is a preferred wife. The terminology for this relationship might be translated little wife/brother.

With a certain flexibility the system is recognizable as a simple bifurcate merging system with Iroquois cousin terms. The terms pai and mamaquira are simple transformations of papa and mama (endearments) and in fact the mother's sister can be addressed as mama. The terms for cross cousins are the terms also for brother-in-law and sister-in-law and the wives of male parallel cousins are also called by the term mirquia. This term is a simple transformation of the word for wife, miriqua, and may be understood to mean something like little wife or almost wife. The same transformation occurs in the woman's word for son, mīmīra. When mother's sister or father's brother's wife addresses ego, it is a mīmīria, stem son, almost son, legitimate son. Also, the wives of male parallel cousins address the male ego as menia, a simple transformation of the term mena (husband).

In the second ascending or second descending generation, all related males are called papatua (big father) or rimariru (grandson).

With regard to ego's relationship to women, it should be noted that the wives of brothers and of parallel cousins are addressed by the same term, even though the brother and male parallel cousin have different terms. The female cross cousin gets the same term as the male parallel cousin's wife but the reciprocal varies. There are, then, only two classes of women on ego's generation from his point of view--marriageables (addressed as mirquia) and unmarriageables (addressed as cuña).

From the standpoint of women, the male world is divided into Quihui, Quíhuira, and Menia. The first two are prohibited (except where quihui is used as a convention to mask the sexual possibilities inherent in the relationship) and menia is permitted.

Finally, something should be noted about preference in terminology since it clearly indicates the patrilineal basis of the Cocamilla kinship system:

1. Between men, blood relations in the patriline take preference over affinal relations, even though the affinal relation may be, by our reckoning, "closer." Example: a man's parallel cousin's son is also the husband of his mother's sister's daughter, that is, his female parallel cousin's husband. He has a choice of calling him *taírĩa* (nephew or almost son) or *ima* (cousin). He calls him *taírĩa* even though the man is as old as he is.
2. Relations through the father take preference over relations through the mother. José, for example is at once the son of a *cuña* (should be called nephew) and the son of a *taírĩa* (should be called grandson) of the same man, Alfonzo. Alfonzo calls him grandson and the relationship through the woman is ignored. .

APPENDIX V

HISTORIC CATHOLIC FESTIVAL CYCLE AS PRACTICED  
BY THE COCAMILLA IN ACHUAL TIPISHCA DURING  
THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES



## APPENDIX V

### HISTORIC CATHOLIC FESTIVAL CYCLE AS PRACTICED BY THE COCAMILLA IN ACHUAL TIPISHCA DURING THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

The source for this information is the accounts of several Tipishquinos, especially Professor Juan de la Cruz Murayari. Most of the practices found in this description are no longer extant. The degree of change from Jesuit times (1638-1757) in the rituals is unknown but from the scanty information available it appears that many of the practices recounted to me by Juan de la Cruz and others date from this early period in Cocamilla post-contact history.

January 1:

#### Changing of the Varayos

This festival was called the "Dia de la Entrega" and is still practiced in substantially the form given here. The varayos were and are the "police" of the village. There were 10 of them in Tipishca under the authority of the Curaca and the Teniente Alcalde (2nd to the Curaca). Each varayo was expected to seek out his replacement and the term of service was one year. The varayos carried varas or batons of solid hardwood (shungo) attached to the wrist by a cord. Another cord ran to the shoulder. The teniente alcalde (now called Capitan del Varayo) carried a longer vara and the Curaca carried a vara with a curved handle. On the day of the change of the varayos they were sworn in (the juramiento) by the Curaca. They swore to complete faithfully the obligation they were given.

January 6:

Dia de los Reyes (Three Kings)

On this day the changing of the varayos was celebrated. The families of the new varayos would prepare much food and drink and the day was celebrated with dancing and the traditional pandilla music (flute, panpipe, and small snare drum) was played. The varayos would make the rounds of the houses of the new varayos to dance and enjoy the food. Women would wet them down in the streets during the dancing, saying, "Viven los reyes" (Long live the kings). When the banquets were eaten, the new varayos rested. This festival ended when, after resting, the new varayos visited each of the houses in the village in a mock or symbolic cleaning. All the things in the houses would be dragged into the street, and the women made much show of resisting while everyone screamed with laughter.

Last Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Lent:

Carnaval

The fiesta in Tipishca took place usually on the last Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before the beginning of Lent rather than the last three days before Lent. At vespers on Monday the new varayos would go into the forest to cut palms. The species selected was yarina (*phytelephas macrocarpa*). Bringing them back into the village, the varayos decorated them with fruits, brightly colored cloth, or other adornments. Holes were put into the ground in front of each of the varayo's houses and the varinas were set into them. These poles of palm were called "húmishi" and were erected with the accompaniment of traditional pandilla music, the pan pipe and the snare drum. Only these days do we see the bombo, or bass drum. In that time there were only two musicians in the pandilla. On Tuesday, people painted themselves with ashes and the music and dancing continued. On Wednesday, the húmishis were cut down in the following

manner. Painted with rúcu (bixa orellans) dancers danced around the bases of the varinas. Water was put around the base to make mud, and the dancers and the poles were soon covered with the thick slippery clay. Small hatchets of the kind used for cutting the shiringa rubber tree were used, and each dancer would take a cut at the pole when he or she wished. Everyone was drunk on masato. When the pole fell the young boys would make a mad scramble to grasp whatever they could manage to get. After the poles were stripped they were dragged to the lake to be "bathed" and all the people would follow to bathe also. The bath terminated the celebration. This festival is still practiced but many of the trappings such as the rúcu dye are now abandoned.

#### Easter Week:

The week of Easter (Semana Santa) seems to have been a time when the major prohibitions dealt with making noise. Secular noise was prohibited from Monday until the Saturday of Glory. Sacred noise, made by matracos (a species of rattle which makes noise by knocking together two pieces of wood fastened to the same base) was made after Christ was "killed" on Thursday morning. The week began on Monday when the mayordomos would go into the forest for palm fronds and take them to the church for a blessing. Christ was removed from the church and taken to the house of the mayordomo where a special niche was prepared.

On Tuesday the palm fronds were taken from the church by young boys and paraded around the plaza. They were then taken back into the church where they were guarded (it seems they were guarded against theft by people who considered that they were effective against storms (tempestad) and who would burn them in the houses to protect the house). Later they were taken out of the church and used to erect arches on each corner of the village which were used as "stops" for the procession of Christ crucified. Special care was taken to place stops at the places where the procession passed close to the cemetery.

Both Monday and Tuesday nights saw a procession of the image of Christ around the plaza. Wednesday had no special act associated with it, but another procession of Christ made its way around the plaza. On Thursday morning at about 8:00 A.M. Christ was "killed." The killing was done by the sacristan who gave a cantico religioso for this purpose. The face of Christ was covered by a black cloth and all the saints were similarly draped. This act was accompanied by ritual music made by the matraco and afterwards groups of young boys also covered in black left the church and went about town at intervals making noise with the matracos until Saturday. At the moment of the killing of Christ it was absolutely forbidden to ring the church bells. The sound prohibition, in effect all week, was most strict at this moment. The people rested in their houses and talked in low tones. No work was done. This prohibition lasted until Sabado de Gloria.

The body of Christ was guarded during the day of Thursday by special groups of men who sat around the body with shotguns and rejones (a pucuna or blowgun made from wild cane and used as an offensive weapon). Masato and aguardiente was passed around as they guarded. The group changed at times and new details of men came in to guard. Thursday night the body of Christ was crucified and carried through the streets accompanied by another image, usually the Virgin of Sorrows, San Francisco, or the Virgin Purissima. The men carried the body of Christ and the women carried the Virgin. In this procession the common people carried candles made of beeswax. Usually three candles were carried in the form of a cross with one candle in the center and two on the sides. This procession was over by about 12 P.M. The young people were then sent to bed and the celebration was given over to the penitents which appear to have been a male cult of courage.

The penitents were all men who had reached adulthood and were all volunteers. There were 20 of them in Tipishca and each one passed 12 years of



penitence to rid himself of sin. They were led by a mayor who was an older man but who also was a penitent. They appeared on Thursday night of Semana Santa dressed in white robes and carrying two items. One was a piece of leather measuring about 50 by 10 cm and made from the skin of the manatee. The other item was a beeswax ball (bola) in which were set many pieces of broken glass. The ball was hanging from a string which was carefully measured to the length of the elbow to the hand. This measurement served to prevent the ball from puncturing a lung when the men whipped themselves with it over the shoulder.

The penitents formed in two lines in front of the church. They entered and all the lights were put out. In complete darkness the sacristan sang a cantico de penitencia. Then the men exited and march to a street where a cross had been previously placed. There they fell on their knees and recited a pater noster still in the formation of two lines. Afterwards they stood up and commenced flagellation of the body with the balls, swinging the ball from side to side and flailing over the shoulder until their backs were raw and bloody. The mayor also struck himself. All the men were "drugged" on aguardiente and huarapo (an alcoholic drink made from ripe bananas) to steel themselves for the ordeal. An exceptionally courageous man might strike himself ten times on each side. It is recalled that Fernando Curitima was such a man. After the flagellation they marched back to the church, this time hitting themselves on the back with the manatee skin. At the church, each man made an offering of money, items of adornment, incense, or other valuables. These objects were part of the treasure of the church and were used for buying things for the church such as vestments and candles. After the offering the men went home where they washed their wounds with hot water in which a tea of orange leaves was made. Salt was then put on the wounds to dry them and guard against infection.

Friday continued the guard at the church over the body of the crucified Christ. at 4:00 P.M. the pilatos (representations of Pontius Pilate) were dragged through the streets and beaten with sticks. At 8:00 A.M. they were taken to the plaza where one was placed on the west side and one was placed on the east. One was a female figure and one was a male figure. To the accompaniment of sacred music played by pifanos (flutes), rondadores (pan pipes), and a drum, they were shot with shotguns. Then began the resurrection of Christ. Up to this point, the festival had had little of the usual fiesta with dancing, music, and masato, and, according to sources "many occult things were going on all week." Now, however, the tenor of things livened and Christ was taken from the church on a pallet and taken to the house of the mayordomo of the festival. All the saints were relieved of their black coverings and were adorned with bright cloths and bird shells, especially the shell of the perdiz, a bird which lays bright blue eggs. At the home of the mayordomo, dancing and masato begin with the pandilla music. The dancing and partying last until Sunday, Domingo de Pascua.

On Sunday a voto was prepared by the families of the fiesteros. The voto consisted of meat, fish, masato, and other foods and was carefully divided into portions for the fiesteros, or mayordomos and assistants, and portions for the pueblo in general. The voto was carried on plates of clay called tuyucayame. There were two kinds of plates, one large and one small. The large one was about 30cm in diameter and the small one about the size of the metal enamelled plates which one sees in common use today. There was also a special bowl (tazon) for masato called ticacuya or mocahua. The voto was carried to the house of the mayordomo and there the party was held. At this party the volunteers for the next year's festival were signed up and received their portion of the voto to bind them to their agreement. The personnel for the fiesta of Semana Santa were as follows: (1) first mayordomo, (2) second mayordomo, (3) 12 helpers, the ayudantes. They were obliged to provide,



as a promise or promesa, meat, aguardiente, masato, and candles for the voto. The termination of this party was the termination of the festival.

#### 40 Days After Saturday of Glory (Sabado de Gloria):

##### Fiesta de Corpus Cristi

Forty days after the Sabado de Gloria, the village celebrated Corpus Cristi. As in the other fiestas a mitayo (meat, fish, and drink offerings) was prepared part for the voto and part for the village at large. The votowent for the entering fiesteros, or the new volunteers for the next year's celebration. For this celebration the mavordomos made masks from the large round pod of the wingo tree (crescentia kujete) called pate de wingo. Each mask was painted with caricatures, apparently of Spanish soldiers in 17th century armor, for the description given is explicit in attributing beards of corn husk, corn husk hair, glass teeth, and plumes in order to represent "el demonio," the devil or demon. A chief of the masked men was chosen and was given the most horrible mask of all. The rest donned ordinary masks. Part of the group dressed as women. To designate female status they carried aparinas (tuquitata), or carrying slings for babies, fans of palm fibre of the type used for fanning lagging fires (pariata in Cocamilla). As a baby they carried a fruit called secana in Spanish and tayuya in Cocamilla (Species Unknown). The chief of the masked men who were called maicucos (white demons in Cocamilla) carried a blowgun and a quiver of darts made of bamboo. He also wore a dress and a belt from which depended a huge male organ made from balsa wood and with the head painted in order to "frighten the women." The group of masked dancers would dance in the streets all night long to the sound of a drum. Other maicucos would dance holding arrows and entering into the individual houses of the fiesteros. The maicucos were penitents and served the function of masked dancers for 10 years. The function of the masked men vis a vis the masked women was to protect them

from blows and molestation from the crowd, for the men and women of the crowd would try to seize and molest them. The chief maicuco was expected to be the most "jealous" of the masked women. This fiesta, as others, ended when the masato ran out.

June 24:

### Fiesta de San Juan

This fiesta seems to have taken on the character of an increase ceremony for the raising of chickens. It took place over two days. As in other fiestas, a voto was prepared with meat and drink. On June 23, the image of San Juan was taken out of the church by a group directed by the wife of the mayordomo. It was then carried to the mayordomo's house where a velación or party with dancing and drinking ensued through the night. At around 3:00 A. M. a pandilla accompanied a group through the streets. The group was composed of the mayordomo and four assistants as well as other private parties. The assistants dragged the mayordomo through the streets tied with two tumplines (pretinas), dancing all the while. After a time, all the participants went to the lake to bathe. The significance of this bath, according to informants, seems to have been to rejuvenate the participants. Hair was also cut for this purpose and to "beautify" oneself. The music played by the pandilla was a special music for San Juan. About 8:00 A. M., also with special music, the killing of the chickens began. A line was strung from one house to another and chickens were suspended one by one from this line by the feet. The fiesteros would dance by and wring their necks, each person killing one chicken. Afterward a procession carrying two saints (any saint would do, according to informants) would parade around the town. At a certain point it was traditional for a young man (muchacho) to seize the headgear from the head of the saint and this signalled the end of the procession. The saint was then taken back to church. In the

afternoon, a party was held which only ended when the masato ran out. The chickens killed were eaten with rice, the whole wrapped in banana leaves and steamed. This dish is called a Juan.

November 1 and 2:

### Fiesta of Todos Santos (All Saints Day)

This fiesta actually began several days previously when the preparation of the meios was begun. The meio is a flat griddlecake made from manioc which has been crushed and the juices expelled. On the morning of November 1, the young boys ran from the church crying "angels, angels." Later they go to the houses for the purpose of setting out the offering to the angels (dead children) which traditionally consisted of candles and clothes. This was called the remosuma para los angeles (limosna) in Cocamilla. Later the sacristan would go from house to house with two capitans of the varayo and an assistant and pray a special prayer for each candle. Each candle represented an angel or dead child of the family, and each was named. The second day saw a partial repetition of the first day except that the group of muchachos did not leave from the church. The second day was given over to candles and offerings to the difuntos (dead adults or ancestors). In past times it was held in the church where the villagers would gather, each person with his straw mat and candles for his individual ancestors. The bells would ring all day and all night from beginning to end of this fiesta. Another difference from the usual fiesta was that Todos Santos did not have a mayordomo or fiesteros. Informants say it was for "everybody." At present, the second day is held in the cemetery where each family plot is occupied by a "dueño" (owner) of the candles and offerings of meios, bread, eggs, and aguardiente are made. The offerings at present are scooped up by the policia (the people accompanying the sacristan) and are later divided among the prayer group and the bell-ringer.

December 23 and 25:

Navidad (Christmas)

The oldest form of this fiesta seems to have involved two communities, Atahualpa and Tipishca. Before the twenty-third of December, the image of the infant Jesus (actually two images, one male and one female) was taken to Atahualpa, three hours away by canoe where it was adorned. On the morning of the twenty-third, a group of men would leave for Atahualpa by canoe and paddle in order to bring the image back to Tipishca. A later pattern in this century was that of a procession around the plaza carrying the images of the infant, after which they were taken to the house of the mayordomo of the fiesta. In former times, when the images arrived in the village by canoe, the entire village was waiting, and special patterns were played on the town bells. Two or three musicians, dressed in special belts adorned with bird feathers brightly colored would accompany the image to the church where it remained until it was taken out for the velación, or all night dancing and drinking. Both the twenty-third and the twenty-fourth had velaciones which lasted all night. The fiesta ended on the twenty-fifth when the masato ran out.



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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Anthony Wayne Stocks was born on October 26, 1939, in Burley, Idaho. He received his primary and secondary education in Burley, and graduated in 1957 from Burley High School.


After graduating with a Bachelor of Arts degree in music composition and theory from the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1962, Mr. Stocks worked for several years and spent two years in the United States Army before continuing his education. In 1971 he began studying Anthropology at Los Angeles City College in Los Angeles, California. In 1972 he transferred to California State University at Los Angeles and in 1974 received his Master of Arts degree in Anthropology after completing a field study in the Peruvian Highlands.

Mr. Stocks has been a graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Florida since the fall of 1974.

He is married to Kathleen Butkus Stocks and they have a daughter, Gabriela.



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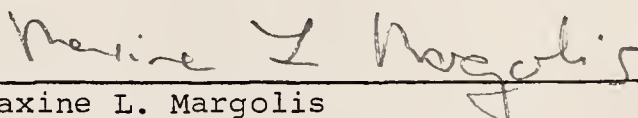
Charles Wagley, Chairman  
Graduate Research Professor  
of Anthropology

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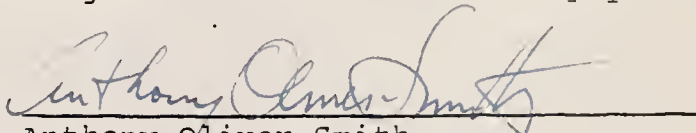
Paul L. Doughty  
Professor of Anthropology

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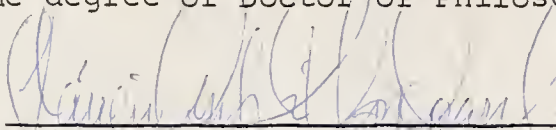
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 1978

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